JPRS 79699 22 December 1981

Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2457

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JFRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2457

CONTENTS

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS	
Freedom of Press Seen in Danger (Editorial; AL-MUSTAQBAL, 7 Nov 81)	1
West Bank Palestinians Reportedly Not Intimidated by Leagues (Voice of Palestine, 30 Nov 81)	2
Briefs Kuwaiti-Lebanese Banking Deal Libyan Weapons Conduit to PLO	3
PERSIAN GULF AFFAIRS	
Feasibility Study Underway for Iraq-Oman Rail Link (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 16 Nov 81)	4
AFCHANISTAN	
Guerrillas Kill Defense Ministry General (MORNING NEWS, 30 Nov 81)	6
Qandahar Said To Be Reduced to Rubble (MORNING NEWS, 30 Nov 81)	8
ALGERIA	
Water Shortage Effect on Economic Development Outlined (Jamal Salihi; AL-SHA'B, 13 Oct 81)	9
IRAN	
Insecurity Reported Growing Among Regime Officials (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	11
Regime Break With 'Arafat, PLO Seen Near (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	14

	(IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	15
	CBI Governor Claims Economy Is Strong (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	17
	Party Chief Sentenced to Life Imprisonment (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	18
	Revolutionary Guards Reported Fighting Kurds (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	21
	Paris Speakers' Corner Termed More Dramatic Than London's (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	23
	Delegate Claims Iranian Women Have New Rights (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 19 Nov 81)	25
	Paper Claims 'Arafat Has Betrayed Palestinian People (TEHRAN TIMES, 21 Nov 81)	27
	'Arafat Criticized Indirectly by Prime Minister Musavi (TEHRAN TIMES, 23 Nov 81)	31
	Commander Claims Kurds Are 'Most Loyal' to Revolution (ETTELA'AT, 1 Nov 81)	33
ERAQ		
	Saddam Hysayn Addresses Special Forces (INA, 6 Dec 81)	37
	Kurdistan Party Issues Statement on Events (INA, 6 Dec 81)	38
	Briefs	
	Radio on Uprooting of Kurds, Turkomen	39
	Cooperation With Soviet Minister	39
	Support Urged for Kurdish Cause 'Popular Army' Benefits	39 40
SRAEL		
	Rafi'ah Withdrawal Said Difficult Problem (Dan Margolit; HA'ARETZ, 15 Oct 81)	41
	Politics of Sinai Withdrawal Analyzed (David Oren; HA'ARETZ, 23 Oct 81)	44
	Kohen Interviewed on Sinai Withdrawal (Ge'ula Kohen Interview: YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 19 Oct 81)	52

	Golan Druze Criticize Government Policy	
	(Jerusalem Domestic Service, 3 Dec 81)	56
	'HA'ARETZ' on New West Bank Village League Policy	
	(Yehuda Litani; HA'ARETZ, 30 Nov 81)	57
	(Tendda Litali, in Aleiz, 50 Nov Ol)	,,,
	Briefs	
	Agriculture Free Trade Zone	59
	Pumping Tests at Gas Well	59
	List of Banned Books Published	59
	IDF Central Command	59
	Labor Party Councils	59
	New North Jerusalem Neighborhood	60
	Educational Ties With Swaziland	60
		60
	Villages Forbidden To Repair Generators	60
	Agreement With Peru	
	Arming of Village Leagues	60
	Appeal at Temple Mount Rejected	61
KUWAIT		
	Government, Dissidents Debate Press Freedom in National Assembly	
	(AL-TALI'AH, 4 Nov 81)	62
	(AL-IALI AR, 4 MOV OI)	02
QATAR		
	Briefs	
		71
	Daily on Kreisky's Statements	/1
SUDAN		
	Popular Unrest Blamed on Economic Measures	
	(THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY, 21 Nov 81)	72
mnitor		
TUNISIA		
	Progress on Community and Municipal Organization Discussed	
	(Abdelmajid Sahnoun; LE TEMPS, 9 Nov 81)	75
	(,,,,,,,	
UNITED	ARAB EMIRATES	
	Defense Minister Observes Military Maneuvers	
	(Naji al-Hayik; AL-BAYAN, 1 Dec 81)	78
	Five-Year Water Plan Calls for 22 Desalination Plants	
	(AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 16 Nov 81)	80
	(
	Briefs	
	New Oil Company	81

FREEDOM OF PRESS SEEN IN DANGER

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 246, 7 Nov 81 p 5

[Editorial: "From 'AL-MUSTAQBAL'"]

[Text] Let us imagine the Arab world without the press. Many people would like that, because the press, to them, is a source of annoyance (if not worse), rather than a means of disseminating news and opinion.

This world, without the press, would have no forum to present the point of view of any group, and consequently the positions of parties to any issue would be subject to fabrications and rumors. No matter how harsh the truth may be, it is still in most cases kinder than fabrication and rumor.

So if these people reflected a bit, they would want newspapers and magazines to continue being published more than we ourselves do. For in the end it is their only means of communicating what they have to say to the people. The official media will never take the place of the press, because the people usually treat them with caution, suspicion, and doubt, even when they tell the truth. Every day there are a thousand instances bearing the truth of this statement.

The official media are necessary, because they reflect the official point of view. However, the private media are an even greater necessity, for the Arab reader wants to breathe with two lungs, not one. The facts prove that the life of people who live on one lung is an endangered life, and is shorter by far than that of people who have two lungs.

In spite of that, there are those who are determined that this [Arab] reader should breathe with one lung, or with half a lung when necessary, even though the number of "fatalities" among them has reached record proportions.

We cannot imagine the Arab world, or any other world, without a press, specifically a free press. We hope that the "infection" stays away from us, for that is the logic of history.

CSO: 4504/119

WEST BANK PALESTINIANS REPORTEDLY NOT INTIMIDATED BY LEAGUES

NC301247 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1110 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Our people in the occupied territories, Mustafa Dudin and Bisharah Qumsiyah, received the green light today from [Israeli Defense Minister] General Sharon. They can now carry Israeli uzi submachineguns and set up armed groups, each consisting of a number of mercenaries, to protect them against the pronouncement of condemnation passed against them by the people, to save them from the fate to which they are doomed—the same fate as Yusuf al-Khatib's and every traitor who has reneged against his homeland, people and nation.

These two agents have gone to the end of the road in their treason. However, they are wrong if they believe that the uzi submachineguns will save them from the black fate. They are also wrong if they believe that their mean game will intimidate the Palestinian masses and make them tremble before an Israeli weapon held by the mercenaries of Dudin and Qumsiyah.

The agents, who have been disavowed even by their children and kinsmen, will not find a solitary Palestinian who would take it upon himself, honor and dignity to carry a Zionist weapon to confront his kinsmen and people with it.

The Palestinians have been taking up arms for the past 17 years to confront the enemy, and their weapons will not be intimidated by the weapons of Dudin and Qumsiyah. The mercenaries who have put themselves in the service of the enemies of their people are too small to create a state of sedition in the arena of the occupied homeland. The blood of the traitors and agents is demanded by all the people. Whoever enlists to serve occupation is a mercenary who is disavowed by his kinsmen, the people and the homeland.

CSO: 4404/165

BRIEFS

KUWAITI-LEBANESE BANKING DEAL--A new group of Kuwaiti and Lebanese interests has entered the Lebanese banking market by purchasing shares of the Izdihar Bank owned by the Al-Wahbah group. The bank operates with a capital of 5 million Lebanese pounds and specializes almost exclusively in loans collateralized with public vehicle titles. The owners of the aforementioned bank entered a stage of inactivity prior to the sale of the bank which resulted in a budget limited to approximately 11 million Lebanese pounds. The bank's purchasing interests are not new to the Lebanese banking sector since they had previously been granted a license to set up a new bank in Lebanon with a capital of 50 million Lebanese pounds. However, they backed out of that preferring to purchase an existing bank, so that they would enjoy the freedom of determining the capital amount without being restricted to a 50 million Lebanese pound limit. They would also benefit from owning bearer shares which they could register and sell whenever they desired to do so without having to adhere to the conditions imposed on the "nominal shares" in the license of any new bank. The new group has not specified when the bank would begin operations under new ownership but it is expected to take place at the beginning of the new year after preparations are completed and capital is increased. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 248, 21 Nov 81 p 65]

LIBYAN WEAPONS CONDUIT TO PLO-Because the Palestinians do not have "an internationally recognized territory," the Soviet Union cannot supply the PLO with weapons directly. This, according to the Lebanese London-based weekly AL HAWADESS was the reply the Soviet leaders gave to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat when he visited Moscow last month. An agreement was, however, reached for supplying the PLO with weapons through Libya and, according to the report, this is the reason why Mr Arafat went straight to Tripoli after Moscow. The PLO chairman had submitted to the Soviet leaders a "shopping list" including heavy weapons. The consequences of such a deal concluded through Libya would mean, observers believe, that some kind of control could be exerted by the Libyans on the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. One of the main questions raised was why was Libya, and not Syria, chosen as the country through which the weapons would be supplied, and some observers saw in this the sign of a strain between Moscow and Damascus, in addition to the strain which already exists between Syria and the PLO. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 7 Nov 81 p 2]

CSO: 4500/65

FEASIBILITY STUDY UNDERWAY FOR IRAQ-OMAN RAIL LINK

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 46, 16 Nov 81 pp 7, 8

[Text]

Plans for the biggest development in railway engineering on the Arabian peninsula since construction of the Hejaz railway 73 years are to be presented to Gulf rulers in December. K F Smith, Managing Director of Transmark, British Rail's design division, is to visit the Gulf next month with the first detailed feasibility studies for a railway to run the entire length of the peninsula's Gulf coast.

The line was originally suggested in 1978, when Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE signed a provisional agreement to investigate the project. Since then, Oman has expressed interest and the Transmark report is understood to recommend that the the line should end in Oman rather than in the UAE. Transmark's report outlining the various ideas for the line should be ready for distribution to the Gulf governments by the end of November and Mr Smith will then tour the Gulf states to go over details with the authorities there. In particular, Transmark hopes that the Gulf Cooperation Council which brings together Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, will take an interest in the project.

Transmark believes the Gulf railway would provide a much-needed link which would serve not only the economic interests of the Arab states but would also ease their fears over their security. In particular, it would provide an alternative route for traffic should there be any threat of closure of the Straits of Hormuz, the entrance to the Gulf.

In addition to its plans for the Gulf line, Transmark has undertaken feasibility studies for Kuwait for a rail network which were completed in 1979 and for a 40-kilometres railway to link Iraq's existing rail system with Kuwait's North—South line. The Iraqi extension and the Kuwaiti line would form the first elements of the proposed Gulf line. In all probability, it would also incorporate the 80-kilometres line Saudi Arabia has planned between Dammam and Jubail.

Transmark bases its economic arguments in favour of the line on the diversification of industry in the Gulf and on changing infrastructural requirements. It believes the line will constitute a unifying and strengthening force for the area and provide transport options where none exist at present.

Transmark's plans have all been drawn up with a view to full compatibility between one line and another and with lines under consideration elsewhere in the region. The British firm has paid special attention to Saudi Arabia's plans for an eventual East—West railway line and for the reconstruction at some unspecified date of the old Hejaz railway.

Italy's Technital are the chief consultants for railway development in Saudi Arabia. At present, its main concern is the current upgrading of the Dammam-Riyadh line. This single-track line is being shortened in distance and relaid as a twin-track line. When completed, it will form the eastern section of the proposed trans-peninsula railway.

Saudi Arabia has not however, taken any firm decisions on the exact route for a line from Riyadh to the Red Sea coast. Nor has a decision been taken on whether the proposed line would link up with the Hejaz railway when, as appears probable, the old line is rebuilt and possibly extended. Final decisions on these major projects are unlikely until 1983, with commitments to build them in whole or in parts being contained in the next Saudi Arabian five-year plan which will run from 1986 to 1990.

One section of the Hejaz railway will be rebuilt by 1985. This is the section in Syria which runs from Damascus to Deraa, close to the Jordanian border. Syria allocated \$ 90 million towards the project eight months ago and another British firm, Henderson Busby has just been put in charge of preparing design studies. Henderson Busby will also carry out design studies for a standard gauge line from Damascus to Zarghaya, on the Lebanese border, and for reconstruction of the main Hejaz railway station in the Syrian capital. Henderson Busby will be carrying out these studies with three other firms with which it is acting in partnership.

CSO: 4400/80

GUERRILLAS KILL DEFENSE MINISTRY GENERAL

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 30Nov 81 p 2

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 29--Stepped-up terrorist activity by anti-Government guerillas in Kabul recently has claimed the lives of a senior Defence Ministry official and his wife and several party functionaries, a report from the Afghan capital said.

Brigadier Mohammad Azam and his wife were assassinated one night between Nov 24-26 at their home in the Khoshalkhan Meean area of Kabul near the Qargha military barracks said the report from a source who has been accurate in the past.

The anti-Government guerillas escaped safely even though the home was protected by armed guards, the unconfirmed report said. It was not known if any of the guards were killed or wounded.

No information about Azam was immediately available except that he reportedly had been educated in the Soviet Union.

On last Tuesday night insurgents killed three members of the National Fatherland Front and other party members while they attended a meeting at the Karte Char section of Kabul, the source said. The guerillas set fire to the home where the meeting was held before they withdrew.

The National Fatherland Front is a council set up by an effort to broaden support for his unpopular regime. It reportedly has been largely ineffective.

Kabul's Denial

Meanwhile the Kabul source disagreed strongly with Western diplomatic reports here last week which said the Afghan capital's best hotel, the Intercontinental, had been hit by insurgent-fired rockets.

The diplomatic report said the blasts occurred the previous week and apparently were aimed at scaring delegates to an Afro-Asian Solidarity congress staying at the hotel.

The hotel actually was hit by three bomb blasts which slightly damaged it and nearby buildings, the source said. Some of the guests were frightened but there were no injuries.

Elsewhere outside the capital, insurgents ambushed a Soviet supply convoy last week at Poli Matak, about 80 kilometres (50 miles) north of Kabul in Parwan province.

The guerillas and local villagers looted more than 20 trucks carrying food, ammunition and winter uniforms and fled before Government reinforcements arrived, the source quoted a witness as saying.

Soviet helicopter gunships bombarded the surrounding villages for several hours before Afghan troops from the provincial capital of Charikar arrived and scoured the area for the fleeing insurgents, the source said.

There was no immediate report of casualties on either side.

Several of the supply trucks were said to have been destroyed in the attack .-- APA

QANDAHAR SAID TO BE REDUCED TO RUBBLE

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 30 Nov 81 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 29--After three months of continuous fighting between Afghan insurgents and Government forces, the provincial capital of Kandahar resembles a bombed-out European city at the end of World War II, a report from Afghanistan says.

Many hundreds of homes have been destroyed in Kandahar, 300 miles south-west of Kabul and a sizeable part of the once 200 000-strong population has fled to the safety of the countryside, said the report reaching here on Friday from a source who has been accurate in the past.

The report could not immediately be verified. However, a western diplomatic report earlier this month also spoke of heavy damage to the city of Kandahar and the widespread flight of its residents.

Food shortages were beginning to be a problem with few supplies reaching the city from surrounding villages because of the fighting.

Markets and bazaars have closed and only a few food shops remained enough food for present, said the report quoting travellers from Kandahar reaching Kabul.

The insurgents also have been attacking Government supply columns and last week destroyed 42 heavily loaded trucks in the nearby towns of Ar Puza said. -- APA

WATER SHORTAGE EFFECT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OUTLINED

Algeria Al-SHA'B in Arabic 13 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Jamal Salihi: "The Problem of Agricultural Irrication in Eastern Algeria; Competition Between the Industrial Sector and Household Consumption"]

[Text] The water shortage problem has become one of the stumbling blocks on the road to development and improvement of the standard of living of the citizens. The problem remains unsolved with regard to both drinking water and water allocated for agricultural irrigation and industrial plant consumption.

The lack of water in our country is not due to a lack of rainfall or insufficient supplies of ground water. It is due primarily to the failure to achieve rational use of rainwater including storage of sufficient quantities of water behind dams, the exploitation of groundwater through the drilling of wells, and the construction of pumping stations, not to mention the water lost by runoff into the ocean, evaporation, leakage through ground fissures, or waste from faucets.

This problem is most severe in the areas of the country where competition for this basic ingredient of life is fiercest among the following three uses: household consumption, consumption by the industrial sector, and irrigation in the agricultural sector.

Perhaps this situation applies most clearly to the eastern part of Algeria. A third of the country's population is concentrated in this area and industrial development is experiencing a strong boom there. Moreover, the area is a prime agricultural region.

This area receives a substantial share of the country's rainfall. The department of Annaba led the country in the number of rainfall days in 1979 with 122 days for a total of 881 mm of rain. This is more than all other departments in eastern Algeria combined. Perhaps this fact is what has placed Annaba in the forefront of the departments that are waging the battle of industrial development. Annaba possesses 48 economic units including 22 plants in the heavy industry sector.

In general, this area is experiencing a comparatively strong industrial boom. Industries centered in this region include numerous plants and installations of

the iron and steel industry (el-Hadjar, Annaba), the petrochemical and refining industries (Skikda), the mechanical implements and tractor industry (Constantine), the bicycle and motorcycle industry (Guelma), the plastics industries (Setif), and the textile industries (Batna), as well as building material plants and conversion industries. All of these industries require large quantities of water in the course of their processing operations. As an example of this, while the Algerian citizen uses an average of 75 liters of water per day--a figure that is below international standard of water consumption, which is 300 liters per daythe production of 1 kilogram of steel requires 270 liters and the production of 1 kilogram of rayon requires 1,000 liters. However, the high concentration of large industrial projects which have won priority in past development plans has had a far-reaching impact on the agricultural sector both from the standpoint of the industrial projects' encroachment on arable lands and from the standpoint of the diversion of irrigation water to operate industrial plants. This has created an imbalance between the two sectors and has complicated their growth, which was to have been balanced and integrated. This situation has been aggravated by the sprawl of construction into fertile lands without proper attention to development preparation.

The fact is that the water shortage problem has not been brought on by the industrial sector so much as by the sector responsible for the completion of the dams scheduled in the development plans as well as the small and medium-sized irrigation projects. These projects could have stored significant quantities of both rainwater and groundwater. While it was inevitable that industry should ask to obtain the lion's share of the water at the expense of agriculture and household consumption, it should have been obligatory before every industrial project was set down in past plans—and this should be a lesson for us in the planning of industrial projects in the future—that hydraulic studies be conducted to pinpoint the water resources required by the project without recourse to competition with agriculture or household consumption for the same resource. Of course, we are not speaking here of the precedence which the project should obtain.

The area that we are discussing is a suitable area for the construction of dams because of its undulating terrain and the quantities of rainfall it receives in the winter. However, this matter does not depend solely on the suitability of natural and climatic conditions or on planning and the allocation of financial resources. The insurmountable obstacle lies in the weakness of the means of implementation. The level at which the large dams are being completed is very low and does not conform to the prescribed goals—especially in view of the competition for building materials and means of transport this sector is experiencing with the construction sector.

For these reasons, the least we can do is to encourage small and medium-sized irrigation units such as small dams, artesian wells, and pumping stations. The key advantage of these units is that their installation and operation can be controlled at the local level without exhorbitant costs, the use of high technologies, and with a considerable saving of time.

8591

CSO: 5000/5003

INSECURITY REPORTED GROWING AMONG REGIME OFFICIALS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Signs of growing insecurity among the rulers of Iran's Islamic Republic multiplied during the past week. Ayatollah Khomeini himself warned the president, premier and the cabinet that they must not forget that their power was derived from the people and the clergy; while a whole battery of top officials took part in a campaign against the Saudi Prince Fahd's Mideast peace plan, and the first overt signs of a split between the regime and the PLO were to be seen.

Observers looked back at remarks about the need to call back Iran's experts and to appease the business community by Majlis Speaker and Tehran Friday prayers leader Hashemi Rafsanjani the previous week, to find some reason for Khomeini's hint of divisions among the ruling group in his remarks to the country's top officials.

President Ali Khamenei had criticised Rafsanjani's remarks afterwards. And when Rafsanjani's place was taken at Friday prayers last weekend by chief justice Mussavi-Ardabili tongues began to wag. They said Rafsanjani had been pushed aside or had deliberately stayed away. Khomeini's warning to Khamenei and his henchmen made it clear he was warning them against moving too fast in their plans to institute radical change if sections of the people and the clergy were against them.

He said they must not forget that it was thanks to the "people on the scene" that they were now occupying positions like the presidency, premiership and other top posts. "Were it not for the people you would have been either in prison, in exile, or living an isolated life," he declared. They must not choose a policy which did not conform with the people's or clergy's wishes.

A split, as suggested in last week's IPS newsletter, between Khamenei and his radical hardliners and Rafsanjani and former premier Mahdavi-Kavi and their supporters on the other, seemed to be confirmed by Khomeini's remarks the following day. He gave a strong warning that if the regime's officials did not unite their ranks "then you will be finished."

Observers felt that the pressure on the regime from the moderate clergy was growing as unease among the business community over nationalisation of trade and rumours of more "sovietisation" swelled. With severe food shortages and

a monthly kerosene ration of a meagre 20 litres a month announced, they said, there was a growing tendency, too, among ordinary people to blame the mullahs' government for their bad management.

Reports suggesting resentment and frustration in the armed forces, among even the ordinary soldiers, was much more widespread than had been suspected were other elements in a situation that was obviously seriously perturbing Khomeini and his advisers. The ayatollah did not hesitate to warn that the supporters of the Shah would return if the regime did not close its ranks.

"There is no doubt some big row had broken out," one Tehran observer contacted by IPS said. "Khomeini sounded very concerned. His warnings were explicit this time. There is obviously strong pressure for moderation before it's too late."

Some confirmation of this was also reflected in warnings that a new coup threatened the regime, and in growing attacks on "monarchist grouplets" as well as the Mojahedin and its leftist allies. Indeed, Khamenei said in a speech early in the week that "supporters of the former regime, Savakis and others have had a hand in the sabotage," as well as the Mojahedin. The often ritualistic attacks on the late Shah and his father by Khomeini and other officials seemed to be intensified.

Khamenei admitted that security was now one of the country's major preoccupations. "It's our duty to keep peace and security, law and order, in this country--that's why we cannot have any leniency for the terrorists and for those who want to impose the rule of terror on our people," he said. "We will deal with them mercilessly. Helped and supported by foreign powers and international so-called human rights organisations, the terrorists think they can induce leniency in us, reducing the strength of our determination. They are all wrong. We shall not fail, we shall not bend to their desire."

At Friday prayers in Tehran Musavi-Ardabili made a startling admission of the toll being taken of regime officials by the continuing violence throughout the country. He told the congregation that in the past month alone "we have lost 500 of our best revolutionary colleagues." He was emphasising the gravity of the situation for the government. Though the Tehran press reports killings of revolutionary officials on most days Mussavi-Ardabili's figures were the first public admission of their extent.

Another feature which struck Iran watchers was the clear moderation of public utterances by most top officials. Although firm about terrorism and the war with Iraq Khamenei himself was fairly pragmatic and realistic in his speech, as he had been on the only previous occasion when he had made a public speech since his election as president. He abjured the usual Islamic slogans.

He conceded the economic situation was not bright, blaming as usual the economic set-up under the Shah's regime for this. He asked for control of consumption to help the situation.

"We are not asking you to fast, but to economise," he said. "Why buy a freezer if you don't absolutely need it? Why change a small refrigerator for a bigger one? Why not manage with your old sewing machine? Why not use public transport instead of private cars? Why not eat just enough for your needs, instead of overeating and throwing away waste food?"

On the war Khamenei said Iraq must withdraw without conditions, though he did not mention compensation, as his prime minister Hossain Mussavi had done.

REGIME BREAK WITH 'ARAFAT, PLO SEEN NEAR

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 p 3

[Text] The chorus of attacks by prominent Iranian officials on the eight-point Middle East peace plan put forward by Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd reached a crescendo early in the week, with Ayatollah Khomeini himself adding his pungent condemnation of it.

But observers of the Iranian scene were most intrigued by the thinly-veiled attacks on PLO leader Yaser Arafat by more than one official, and then the publication of a personal attack on him by name in the semi-official organ of the revolutionary guards.

The paper accused Arafat of collaboration with the West and the Zionists in his welcome of Fahd's plan. It urged the authorities to check more carefully on the activities of the Palestinians in Iran. "The government must order a close investigation into the activities of the PLO and its embassy in Tehran," the paper said.

Observers in Europe saw these attacks as a response to Palestinian support for the Mojahedin, which is now out in the open. The government became even more sensitive to this when it was realised that the Mojahedin had managed to infiltrate the revolutionary guards to a very considerable degree. Ayatollah Montazeri, whose son died in the IRP headquarters bomb attack blamed on the Mojahedin, was deputed to purge the suspect elements from the guards.

Some observers point also to steadily growing tension in the relations between the Tehran regime and the Palestinians since the war with Iraq broke out. Tehran has suspected the PLO of at least indirectly supporting the Iraqis in the war, and the guards' paper criticised arafat's latest meeting with Saddam Husain.

There was also little doubt whom Khomeini had in mind when he emphasised, in a powerful attack on the Fahd plan on Monday, that "every dutiful Muslim must condemn this shameful project which is inspired by the Great Satan with the ultimate aim of imposing on Muslims recognition of the oppressor state of Israel." He implied Muslims accepting the plan, which he labelled as "heretical, anti-Islamic and thus unlawful," were traitors.

Ayatollah Montazeri has called for a protest march this weekend against the Saudi plan.

ARMED FORCES VIEWED AS FRUSTRATED, RESENTFUL

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 p 4

[Text] Military commanders, especially those on the western front, are reported increasingly angry over the regime's failure to replenish their stocks of arms and ammunition as well as widespread inefficiency at the joint staff command headquarters in Tehran. Socio-political commissars, planted by the mullahs to spy on officers and other ranks, have also spread anger and frustration among all ranks, including conscripts.

Frustration has mounted rapidly because of the rising number of casualties in recent weeks. Reports from Iran suggest that the ground forces are now losing around 50 to 60 men every day, compared with less than 10 a day on average during the summer. The officer corps puts the blame for the rising casualty list on the regime's failure to provide much-needed arms and equipment.

The military are also said to be angry at the inconclusive course of the war. They feel they are being deliberately kept at the front line to serve the mullahs political purposes. Resentment against the clerics is becoming so intense that the turbanned political commissars no longer dare go among the other ranks in the front line areas for fear of their lives.

There is also resentment at the way the Ideological and Information Service of the army, located in Tehran and run entirely by the mullahs, puts out war communiques and manages the army's propaganda. Professional soldiers are ashamed to see the mullahs put out blatant lies in their name. Officers say that often true accounts of their bravery and successes at the front line are omitted from war dispatches while amateurish lies are broadcast. This makes them feel ridiculed.

Reports add that there is spreading contempt for all the mullahs, especially Khomeini. Officers and men refer to Arabs as Tazis, which is often used to call dogs. Ironically, there is still lingering admiration for the Israelis; General Dayan's death recently was the occasion for acknowledging respect for him in private.

Conscripts returning home have reported that soldiers and officers spoke well of Dayan and praised his capability when they heard news of his death. They also said that there is lierce resentment against the Russians and the British, who are believed to supply Iraqis with weapons.

Although the officers and men are afraid of the mullahs' spies, they often speak with respect of the late Shah and have sympathy for the young Shah. They believe that the late Shah, and consequently the army, were betrayed by the Americans.

The conscripts are, in particular, angry with the mullahs because they have exempted students of theological schools from doing national service. They also resent the way the regime favours the revolutionary guards.

Sources say there are growing signs that the professional cadres in the army are resisting involvement in political squabbles or in combat missions against domestic opponents of the regime. Army units did not take part in operations against the Kurdish rebels recently in Bukan, although Tehran radio claimed they did.

CBI GOVERNOR CLAIMS ECONOMY IS STRONG

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 pp 4-5

[Text] The governor of the Central Bank, Mohsen Noorbakhsh, says that Iran has sufficient foreign exchange reserves to pay for her imports, including arms.

He also said last week that oil exports were up to the intended levels, but did not mention any figures. His statement on the economy was intended to contradict a claim by his immediate predecessor, Alireza Nobari, that Iran is bankrupt. Nobari now lives in exile in Austria.

Sources in Iran say that oil exports are now around 400,000 barrels a day, sold mainly to the East Europeans at a posted price of 35 dollars a barrel. However, the sources said that through bookkeeping adjustments, the actual price paid by buyers was only \$27. They also said a dealer in Zurich, believed to be a Jewish American, sells Iranian crude to unidentified buyers, possibly the South Africans. But Iran's income from oil is now less than one billion dollars a month.

The same sources said the regime has drastically cut down on imports, especially of industrial raw materials. Consumption is about 60 percent of what it was in 1979. Despite mobilisation of manpower for the war, unemployment is said to be around five million, or more than half the working population.

It is interesting to note, an Iranian economist pointed out, that those Central Bank officials who have retained their jobs despite widespread purges speak well of the new governor, although he is the mullah's appointee. The staff generally regarded Nobari as too inexperienced and lacking in principles. He was made governor by Bani-Sadr in November 1979 and held on to his job until he was sacked by the mullahs last June, when he left Iran to join his Austrian wife in Vienna.

IRAN

PARTY CHIEF SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 pp 5-6

[Text] Abolfazl Qasemi, secretary-general of the Iran party long opposed to the Pahlavi regime, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a military tribunal in Tehran. A former member of his party and an activist in the National Front in the years prior to 1961 has contributed this brief account of events leading up to Qasemi's trial and the background to his organisation:

The Khomeini regime's military tribunal last week sentenced one of its most prominent liberal critics to life imprisonment. Abolfazl Qasemi, secretary-general of the nationalist Iran party, has formally protested against his life sentence, but in Khomeini's judicial system there is no provision for an appeal and protests are thus ignored.

Qasemi was arrested in July 1980, officially accused of collaboration with the former regime's security service, the SAVAK. At the time of his arrest, the propaganda arm of the regime published a document to the effect that Qasemi had received 500,000 rials from the SAVAK for "services rendered." Few had any doubt that the document was forged.

At that time, a special office at the Komiteh Markazi (Central Committee) operating under direct supervision of the assassinated leader Mohammad Beheshti, and personally managed by the present president Ali Khamenei and his premier Hoseyn Musavi, was known to use blank stationery from SAVAK and Majlis press facilities to forge documents to implicate the regime's opponents, either as SAVAK agents or American spies.

At the time of his arrest, Qasemi had won a landslide victory to the mullah's Majlis from his native town of Daragaz in northeast Iran. His unauthorised triumph at the polls angered Beheshti, who had formed an alliance with Mehdi Bazargan and Abolhasan Bani-Sadr to bring out of the ballot box a list of candidates known as the Great Coalition. Because Beheshti's agents were unable to find any other pretext to annul the election in Dargaz (the Qasemi clan dominate the town) they resorted to a forgery to disqualify him. In other towns, such as Kerman where Admiral Madani was elected, and Kermanshah, where Karim Sanjabi was elected, Beheshti ordered annulment of the elections.

Before Qasemi's arrest, a group of hezbollahis, wielding clubs and iron bars and protected by revolutionary guards, occupied the offices of the Iran party on Navab Street in Tehran, and looted the furniture. The mob went on a rampage for one hour and then a young turbanned official, claiming to be a personal aide to the Revolutionary Prosecutor-General, arrived on the scene and officially locked up the party's offices. Thus, Qasemi's arrest was thought to have the added motive of silencing the Iran party, which was then the only affiliate of the National Front which could boast of an organised set-up. Without the Iran party, the National Front could be reduced to a group of politicians with no grass roots organisation.

Qasemi's continued confinement, meanwhile, led to anxiety among his supporters. Outside Iran, liberal and socialist groups made representations to the regime in Tehran to secure his release. The mullahs thought, however, that they would lose face if they released him. So they organised a trial, so their newspapers reported. Nothing was heard until late last month, when suddenly the mullahs announced the military tribunal would take up the case because Qasemi had participated in the alleged coup attempt by Shapour Bakhtiar's supporters in July 1980. The announcement came as a shock because the military tribunal of Khomeini is. in effect, a small outfit, manned by a small group of Palestinian and Lebanese interrogators-cum-torturers and headed by one Mohammad Reyshahri, who is notorious for his ruthlessness and ignorance or distortion of Islamic law (Shariat). Perhaps because of international concern for Qasemi's life, the so-called military tribunal did not pass the death sentence. Yet Qasemi's life cannot be safe, because on several occasions the regime has sent to the firing squad those sentenced to life imprisonment. One such victim was former National Bank chief Yussef Khoshkish, who was sentenced to life in jail, but 10 months after the verdict the mullahs suddenly announced his execution.

Meanwhile, the Khomeini gang tried to use Qasemi's case to deal the coup de grace to the Iran party. The remainder of the party leaders, including Bazargan's former foreign minister, Karim Sanjabi, are said to be in danger. Sanjabi failed to answer a summons to give evidence at Qasemi's trial and a search is on for him.

The Iran party was set up in 1945, when several small political groups, including the Mihan party, united to form a middle-of-the-road social democratic organisation. In 1946, it agreed to a tactical coalition with the pro-Moscow communist Tudeh, when the prime minister, Ahmad Qavam, offered three cabinet seats to his leftist rivals. One of the three cabinet posts went to the Iran party's Allahyar Saleh, and the other two to Tudeh leaders. After a short while Qavam's coalition cabinet broke up and so did the Tudeh-Iran party alliance.

In 1950, the Iran party supported nationalist premier Mohammad Mossadegh and quickly captured cabinet seats and positions of influence. Ahmad Zirakzadeh, Hoseyn Hasibi and Karim Sanjabi served in the Mossadegh cabinets and later formed the backbone of the National Front's parliamentary whip. Hassibi was Mossadegh's chief expert in negotiations to find a working arrangement with the West to buy Iran's not nationalised oil. But he was inflexible in his methods and failed to solve the oil problem. At that time the party's main theoreticians were the present National Iranian Resistance Movement leader Shahpour Bakhtiar and Gholam Ali Bayani.

In late 1952, a group of activists defected from the party to form the Association of Islamic Socialists, but they later joined Mehdi Bazargan's Nehzat group. After the 1953 coup d'etat which brought back the Shah from brief exile the party ceased overt activity and its leaders, including Bakhtiar and Qasemi, spent time in prison. The party had a brief revival in 1961, when Ali Amini came to office. But later it became dormant, remaining so until the summer of 1978 and the beginning of the widespread revolt against the Shah. Then, differences between Sanjabi and Bakhtiar weakened the party. Qasemi was chosen secretary-general in 1979 to hold the rank and file together, and ostensibly weed out Bakhtiar's supporters, but his term was aborted by his arrest.

REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS REPORTED FIGHTING KURDS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 pp 7-8

[Text] A pilot who deserted from the Iranian air force to join the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (DPIK) forces of Abdolrahman Ghassemloo told IPS' Paris correspondent this week that reinforced and far better trained revolutionary guard units are now battling with Kurdish forces in the west of Iran.

Iraj Soltani, who is now in the French capital, said Palestinian and Libyan mercenaries had both trained and were helping the guards in their campaign against the Kurds. Units of up to 1700 guards were now centred at some gendarmerie posts and were operating much more widely and freely than hitherto.

Unlike in the early days of the war in the area, the guards now attack the Kurdish strongholds during the night instead of regularly withdrawing inside city perimeters when the evening came on. In spite of this, Soltani asserted, it was the forces of Massoud and Idris Barzani, sons of the famed Kurdish leader who are now supported by Khomeini, who were the worst enemies of the DPIK and other Iranian Kurds opposed to the regime.

Soltani claimed that at least 95 pilots had been executed in Iran since the beginning of the revolution to his knowledge, and there were no doubt others about whom he did not know. He said Syrian pilots, specially retrained on American aircraft, were sent as compilots with Iranian crews on missions against the Kurds. This was because Iranians could not be trusted to bomb their compatriots.

That was why he had deserted. He had been denounced as failing to bomb targets. "Actually I just couldn't," he said. "How could one bomb people who came out of their houses and were waving to you?" Warned he was likely to be charged with disobeying orders, he escaped to Tehran and joined the Kurds after contacting them. He claims he is the only non-Kurd member of the DPIK. Other officers were ready to join the DPIK, he said, but the Tudeh (pro-Moscow) wing of the party blocked them.

Wounded four times in operations against the revolutionary guards, Soltani was scathing about the attitude of the opposition groups in Paris to the situation in their country. He said they were sitting around in cafes while people were

dying at home. The longer they feuded the stronger the regime would become, and the more sophisticated and competent the revolutionary guards would also become as they were transformed into regular army units.

He claimed that the late armed forces chief General Falahi and a General Zakiani had sent army personnel marked for purging into action against Kurds when they knew they were likely to be ambushed and killed. Soltani said he had taken part in actions against a 600-strong unit of such men in the Ghassemloo valley, when the men had been massacred.

PARIS SPEAKERS' CORNER TERMED MORE DRAMATIC THAN LONDON'S

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 pp 9-10

[Text] London's Speakers Corner has long seen weekly exchanges between left and right wing Iranians, which the London bobbies on duty control with the minimum of fuss. It's only rarely that protagonists come to blows--and the worst rows these days are, in fact, between different factions of the Left.

Khomeini supporters are conspicuous by their absence. In fact, his viewpoint is usually put in the safety of the early evening, when most of the militants have gone home, by Malaysians and other sundry Muslim fanatics believed sent by the hardline Muslim groups in the capital.

Paris, too, has its own arena for Iranian differences. Every Saturday, out at the student dormitories of the Cite Universitaire, pro and anti-Khomeini groups try to shout each other down and to tell passers-by of the violent crimes of their opponents back in Iran.

But here everything is conducted in more Gallic fashion. Not only are flags and effigies burned, and the slogans shouted more extreme, but the special French security guards who are there to keep order--from the crack CRS--bristle with bullet-proof waistcoats, guns and anti-riot gear. It is altogether a much more theatrical, dramatic scene.

Action begins at noon, when the pro-Khomeini group, usually around 20 or 30 bearded young men and a handful of veiled girls, start their prayers on the sidewalk beneath posters depicting Mojahedin leader Massoud Rajavi as a terrorist and killer of children, and others showing Khomeini as the supreme leader of the revolution.

On the other side of the street the supporters of the Mojahedin, Paykar, Kar and other leftist organisations, chant at the same time "Death to Khomeini" and "Stop the massacre of children."

Finished with their prayers the Khomeini group sets fire to an American flag, all the time shouting slogans against America, imperialism, Rajavi, Bani-Sadr and Oveissi. "Our revolution is like the struggle of Hossain, our leader is Khomeini. God is Great, Khomeini is our leader," they chant.

On the other side of the road it's an effigy of Khomeini which goes up in flames. "Death to America," the leftists shout, echoing their rivals. "Death to imperialism, reaction, to Oveissi, Bakhtiar and Khomeini."

The Khomeini group explain to passers-by how the counter-revolutionaries in Iran are killing children, setting fire to buses and killing revolutionary leaders, too. They claim there is complete freedom inside Iran and that they won't be intimidated by gangsters.

In turn, a Paykar supporter tells people that Khomeini's hordes take out their members from hospitals to shoot them and "throw their bodies to starving dogs."

"Death to Rajavi, to Bani-Sadr, to America" comes the cry from the Khomeini group. "Down with world imperialism, revisionism..." comes the reply. It is death and destruction to everyone and everything for revolutionaries, nobody shouts long live anybody.

There are occasional shouts in support of the Kurds, but none for other ethnic minorities in Iran. "This is discrimination against other Iranian nationalities," says one Iranian bystander, arguing a secondary point.

It's when the session is over that the security forces have to jump to it. A human wall then surrounds each group as the leftists make for the underground station near where their rivals are gathered. The closer the groups come to each other it is difficult to make out which group is shouting what. Fists are raised on each side, "Death to Khomeini, Khomeini is the leader, Death to Reaction, God is Great, Death to Rajavi"—and then a chorus that seems to be in unison, "Death to America," comes from both sides.

Seeing the hatred, the viciousness in the expressions of both sides it is easy to conjecture on the blood that might flow if the groups got their hands on each other. It would be like inside Iran.

"Can they ever forget this hatred?" asked a watching Iranian, his voice low with emotion, tears in his eyes. "When the blood starts to flow, it is hard to stop it. That's what Khomeini has done to us and we can't forgive him."

DELEGATE CLAIMS IRANIAN WOMEN HAVE NEW RIGHTS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 47, 19 Nov 81 pp 11-12

[Text] An Iranian woman delegate to the recent international conference on population in Peking complained that Arab Muslim delegates "expounded dictated issues and their views were neither human nor Islamic" when she was interviewed by the Tehran daily Ettelaat on her return.

Mrs Maryam Behruzi added, "In a discussion I had with the first secretary of the communist party I asked him about the role of women in China, and from his explanation I gathered that Chinese women have no political or cultural role in society and they are a tool for economic development.

"After hearing this, I described the role of Iranian women before the revolution, and I told him that now, relatively speaking, the rights of men and women in Iran are equal. And recently the custody of children had been given to mothers. In fact, our women now play an active role in raising the level of the political, economic and moral culture of our society.

"I also explained that our women have achieved their identity through the Islamic view expressed in the Qoran. By shouting "Allahu Akbar" we have already come far in our revolution, and we will move further forward in the future."

Mrs. Behruzi said Iran's delegation was the only one that looked at the problem in an Islamic dimension.

"We believe that human beings are sacred and must have all material aids at their disposal," she said they told the other delegates. "Others disagreed with us and said that human beings must be at the service of money and economy. The others held economic views. The Iranian delegation said that man is sacred and he must be in possession of material benefits and moral conditions. We also mentioned that the position of women must be improved and women must give their consent about having a child. This is a religious law."

At the end of the conference Iran had proposed two resolutions which were approved. These were:

- 1. Men and women must be equal, at least at a minimum level.
- 2. The educational and cultural level of women must be improved. Women must have the custody of their children and any success or failure must be the responsibility of women.

The paper said that the Iranian delegation refused to participate in any of the receptions given because alcoholic drinks were served. At the final reception hosted by the Chinese prime minister they did accept an invitation if alcoholic drinks were not served, which the Chinese agreed to. During dinner, a separate table was set for the Iranians "in such a way as to give a good and positive impression and put certain reactionary Islamic countries in the region like Jordan and Iraq to shame," according to the leader of the delegation, Hojatoleslam Yazdi.

PAPER CLAIMS 'ARAFAT HAS BETRAYED PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 81 pp 1, 4

[Text]

THE HISTORICAL speech of Imam Khomeini on November 16, 1981 clarifies the position of anti Islamic personalities, as well as their policies. This had become necessary because the criminal actions of the Superpowers in the Middle East, the cradle of Islam, has reached a point endangering Islam. Imam Khomeini has warned of the imminent

danger.

Those who are aware of Imam Khomeini's method of struggle will be aware that he first gives his advise on the issues that are being deviated and if this is not heeded he makes a pointed reference to the divergences and if it still proves to be of no avail he warns on the issue and if this last does not have effect then he begins the struggle against it. Any deviated current that is considered dangerous by Imam Khomeini, will not be correctable by the Moslems anymore and should be eradicated.

In our daily message a few days ago titled 'Middle East Erupts' we made an analysis on the preperation of the Superpowers for the eradication of the Islamic and Moslems uprisings. In that comment we analyzed the reasons behind the

and roots for such actions.

Here we do not intend to discuss the hostility of the U.S. and Russia with Islam and the Moslems, which is clear to all. Rather is it our intention to-day to direct the spotlight at those elements responsible for the execution of the corrupt plots of the Superpowers in the region.

The most important issue in the Middle East at present is the Fahd Plan which if approved will mean the recognition of Israel and in the words of

the Imam 'Islam will be enslaved.'

It is about 40 years since Israel this quintessence in crime, enjoying the support of the U.S. and the Soviet Union with its savage invasion, usurped the Holy land of Islam, Palestine. During all these years, the corrupt Israel took within its

bosom millions of innocent Moslems but also made many more of them homeless. After this dreadful Hitlerian invasion, the Moslems in every country stood ranged in the struggle against the fascistic

occupation of Palestine.

tive of the Palestinians.

Leaders such as Jamal Adbel Naser proved sincere in struggling against Zionism. Among the Moslem movements that raised themselves in struggle Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was the first to be formed. With the Moslems of Palestine they started their struggle against Zionism. As it was the first organization of its kind for the people's struggle, soon it became the leader of the movements in Palestine.

For years, this movement continued its armed struggle against the fascistic regime of Israel and was highly esteemed by the Moslem masses in the world. It came soon to be very well accepted by all Moslems and financial aid and volunteer personnel flooded this movement. Aside from governments, no nation helped the PLO as much as the Moslem nation of Iran did. And all the aid provided to the PLO by the Moslem nation of Iran was because they felt the need to identify with the nation of Palestine. A number of governments no doubt accepted the organization as the representa-

The U.S. as well as Zionism tried for a number of years to prevent the recognition of the PLO, but they failed. Since then Zionism has entered the scene under three guises:

A: Intensification of its vicious military invasion over the southern side of Lebanon, which was the center of the refugee camps of the Palestinians.

B: The enforcement of the toughest forms of dictatorship in those pockets where the Palestinians lived while jailing and torturing the dwellers in these sectors.

C: In addition to all this, Zionism tried to convert the strategy of armed struggle of the Palestinian leaders into a strategy of political and diplo-

matic struggle.

In the first two cases, Zionism was desperately defeated, because they failed to force the Palestinians to give up their struggle despite the mass slaughter of tens of thousands of their numbers in Tel-Zaatar and other places. By resorting to such inhumanistic actions, Israel drove the Palestinians to become even more sturdily resistant and angrier at the injustices perpetrated against them.

But what of the third case? First the globe exploiters eradicated Imam Mousa Sadr who was an uncompromising clergyman and a descendant of the Prophet (SAW), who was to take over the divine and popular leadership of the people!!!

But later from the time the leaders of Palestinians began to pace through the palaces of Riyadh and walk the corridors of the political citadels of the Kremlin, Baghdad, Germany, France, Japan and others and asked for military and financial aid form every Western and Eastern enemy, the bells began to herald success for Zionism in converting the Holy armed struggle for Palestinians into an ineffectual diplomatic struggle.

The change in tactics portended a lack of reliance of the Palestinians leaders in their strong Moslem peoples and the separation of the movement

from the people became obvious to all.

We accept that the early goals of the Moslem Palestinian leaders in begging at the palace doors was in the cause of struggle with Zionism. Yet this policy though far from true Islamic principles did not merit our sustained objections since the struggle with Zionism was not yet a forgotten issuc.

But one thing we were sure of and that was the final objectives of the superpowers and their hireling countries in proferring or encouraging such aid was to divert the Palestinian leaders into a pol-

icy of compromise.

And today while this despicable plot of Imperialism and Zionism takes its final steps through the Fahd plan, far from considering silence lawful, we regard it as Haram (a sin according to religion). Here we need to note that the PLO is made up of different political shadings form Islam to communism and socialism.

But we are most concerned here with its strongest wing which is led by Yasser Arafat and is

also the decision-maker of the PLO. Yasser Arafat after 30 years leading the PLO and displaying utter lack of success in driving out the Israelis even from one square meter of the occupied lands has proved his deficiency, and now after the victory of the great Islamic Revolution in Iran under the divine leadership of Imam Khomeini, Yasser Arafat has lost his popularity among the masses. Now by approving the Fahd plan and by official recognition of Israel he stabs the Moslem nation of Palestine in the back by acting so hypocritically.

The uncompromising stand of Imam Khomeini during his 20 years of leadership of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and his success in driving out the most powerful puppet of the U.S. from the most powerful country in the Middle East has provided the ground for struggle as well as the Islamic leadership to all the nations including Palestine. There is no more room for the coquettish claims of dancing puppets to leadership. Imam Khomeini has not only nested in the heart of the Palestinian people as their religious leader but

their absolute political leader as well.

Now that the lier leadership seekers lose their stand and their faces have become known to everybody, they are seeking refuge in the US and Zionism. Arafat first recognized this Plan as having some positive points and finally announced that he agreed on this Plan from the beginning and has said that there is no Plan better than this !!!

Imam Khomeini, the echo of centuries of suppression and cruelty imposed on the Moslems has

said about this plan that

"Those who have given this Plan or find any positive point in it, are either ignorant or have been influenced by the US and Zonism." And also said, "whoever does not oppose the Fahd Plan is a traitor to Islam."

It is quite clear that Arafat who has approved to Plan and has found positive points in it, is ever ignorant or under the influence of the US and Zionism and is surely traitor to Islam. Thus we consider the recent historical lecture of the Imam as the ousting of Yasser Arafat from the leadership of Palestine and believe that the Moslem nation no more considers him an official representative and from now no more the man who decides the destiny of the Palestinian.

He can only be restored to his former status if he renounce his anti-Islamic and treacherous stands and repents and follows Imam Khomeini's

path in the struggle against Israel.

It appears that they have forgotten their slogans which said, "The only solution to the Qodsproblem comes through the barrel of the gun." And today they claim that there is no other Plan better than Fahd's !!!??

Yes, the only Plan for the Liberation of dear Palestine is the complete eradication of Israel from the scene of history. And this is possible only through reliance on Islam and the objective of Palestine as well as the divine armed struggle which is in fact the Imam Khomeini's plan and the Moslem nations of the world.

Whoever, either Palestinian, Arab, Persian and else seeks anything but this is not from the Palestinian nation and will be under the influence of the US and Zionism. Because the Palestinian's objective is the goal and not the Palestinian leader.

Hoping that all the Moslem nations of the world read the reviving and destiny making speech of Imam Khomeini delievered on November 16, 1981 and answer his call based on revolt and self sacrifice to prevent the execution of this corrupt and seditionist Plan. We have published the Imam's recent speech in a separate page in our today's issue for publication and distribution everywhere in the world.

By MUSAVIAN

'ARAFAT CRITICIZED INDIRECTLY BY PRIME MINISTER MUSAVI

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 23 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Tehran (Pars)--'We will oppose the stands of the compromising Palestinian leaders" said Prime Minister Musavi in a press conference held for local reporters here yesterday.

On internal economic problems, Musavi said that the question of soaring prices had been brought under control and inflation was not an insoluble problem, adding that through the cooperation of the nation, the government found it possible to bring high prices under control. He added that constant efforts were directed to stem this trend through the Economic Mobilization Headquarters.

In regard to the Fez Conference, the Premier said that many moves were being made to ensure that the Fahd plan was approved at this the meeting by Arab governments.

Musavi further said "a glance at the tours by the European political leaders to the Middle East and the exchange of views with reactionary heads of state reveal how deeply rooted the plan has been.

"Even in our very first analysis, announced by the Foreign Ministry, we stated that even discussion of the plan was a victory for the Zionist regime,

Secret documents found in the Foreign Ministry following the Revolution reveals Egal Alon as explicitly saying that Israeli politicians had come to the conclusion that the return of any part of the Jordan River and West Bank to the Palestinians could only result in the destruction of Israel.

The Prime Minister said "Israel will not yield any privileges to the Palestinians. But the result of the plan will be the recognition of Israel." He added that the Imam's lecture on the Fahd plan will be hundred percent effective in deciding the future destiny of Israel and struggle of the Moslems with Zionism. And Imam Khomeini has played a vital role which every country accepts in this opposition to the plan which is against their own nations!

On the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards the Palestinian, said "we have repeatedly announced our stand and issue of an Islamic Front in our foreign policy will be as strong as ever. We emphasize this issue everyday, because we know that after the recent events this suggestion will have still more support among the Moslem nations."

ong the Moslem nations."
The Prime Minister continuing, said "We have also announced that the issue of Zionism is not separable from the issue of the U.S. and struggle with the U.S. and Zionism cannot be limited within boundaries, rather it is a global issue.

Therefore, the issue of struggle against the Zionism should be spread to all the Islamic countries in the world. We also mentioned in our plan that the call to demonstrations by Ayatollah Montazeri which was participated in by twenty million people can be a guide for us

"In the future, when this slogan comes to reality, Zionism will be overthrown completely. If you observe the Fahd plan precisely, you find that the Palestinian leaders have taken different stands against this plan. We oppose the stands taken by the compromiser leaders of Palestine.

"Those who consider this plan as acceptable as well as those who think that compromising with Israel is in beneficial to them, are tar from the reality and it is they who will be destroyed before anybody else."

On the relations of the liberation movements with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Musavi said that this issue is being discussed in one of the

commissions of the Majlis and will be propounded from a political angle in our country.

The prime minister was asked if the Iranian officials do not think that the diplomatic relations of Saudi Arabia with Russia will result in the inclination of the East bloc countries, particularly those of the Resistance Front to participate in the coming Fez conference. he replied, "I feel that this establishment of Saudi -Soviet relations is for exerting pre-ssures on the members of the Resistance Front throughout Arab countries rather then for participation of the members of the said Front in the Fez conference and so that Saudi Arabia can exert pressure on Yemen, Syria, Algeria and Libya for establishment of relations with the Soviet.

Concerning the Iranian plan on Afghanistan, the premier declared, "We have not provided this plan for the reg ne of Babrak Karmal. It was crystal clear that he was determined to reject this plan. The plan has been set out for the independence of Afghanistan over a long-round period.

"Not only has this plan been rejected by the existing regime of Afghanistan but it is natural that it is not a plan which is agreeable to the East and West Superpowers.

"However though, the words of the people of Afghanistan is important to us, we think that they will show a suitable reaction towards this plan.

Referring to the volume of money in circulation and the private sector, the prime minister said: "we have a specified system in the Islamic Republic. The state sector will be developed according to the constitution and the private

sector will continue their activities.

"None of responsible officials have spoken concerning the dissolution of private sector."

Commenting on a rumer spread by the Time magazine concerning the arrival of some 42 Russain experts for forming a security network in Iran, the prime minister strongly denied it, the prime minister said: "I think they wanted to give the impression to the reactionary regimes of the Persian Gulf region of the existence of American forces and AWAC's because of a Communist line followed in Iran.

"To strengthen the basis of this rumor, Reuter announced that during a contact with a spokesman for the Prime Ministry, this rumor was contradicted.

"As far as we are concerned no contact was established with the Prime Ministry and the Prime Ministry has no spokesman."

He continued "there is another rumor concerning the dispatch of 15,000 information and security personnel of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to Iran in order to provide security measures for top-ranking Iranian officials and to fortify the security network of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

They have plotted such conspiracies to weaken the performance of the 36-million member information network ipeople of Iran) but I should say that our people are familiar with these lies which have failed to affect the spirit of our people."

in regards to the Iranian proposal of the Afghanistani issue, the prime minister said that if Iran's suggestion would materialize the 30 clends who would form a Council to supervise affairs, would have full knowledge of the Moslem world and thus it would be a very strong guarantee to preserve peace in that country!

"Secondly." Musavi further stated, "the existence of such a council will attract the support of commutted clergymen around the world to this proposal and the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

"We hope that this suggestion will convince Russian that she cannot stay in Afghanistan and Moslems throughout the world will never consent to the Red Army trampling underfoot Islamic territory.

THE MOSLEMS THRO-UGHOUT THE WORLD WILL NEVER CONSENT TO THE RED ARMY TRAMPLING UNDER-FOOT ISLAMIC TERRI-TORY.

In connection with the participation of the Islamic Republic in the Summit of the Steadfastness Front, Musaw said that Iran had attended the Summit as a observer and that our participation will not be permanent," adding that Iran would only take part on a permanent basis where it could play a role in determining policies and principles.

"We have repeatedly announced," he continued, "that since the Steadfastness Front resists Zionism and Impenalism we will back it up and this support of ours will continue until they keep on with resistance against Zionists and Imperialists.

Referring to the political relations between Iran and Turkey, the prime minister said that Iran would like to rely on the common interests and not the controversies.

He continued by saying that "though our values differ from theirs, since we have common borders it is to our mutual interest to establish trade relations with the small countries of the region instead of the Superpowers and that the Islamic Republic of Iran would try to avoid any sort of turmoil in this regard.

At the end of his press conference, the premier expressed his hopes that a spokesman for the Cabinet as well as the Foreign Ministry would soon be named.

COMMANDER CLAIMS KURDS ARE 'MOST LOYAL' TO REVOLUTION

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 1 Nov 81 p 4

[Text] Mehabad--ETTELA'AT Dispatched Reporter--Following the return of stability and relative calm to the roads leading to Mehabad, and at the invitation of the commander of the Third Brigade of this city, our reporter left Urmia for Mehabad, in order to prepare a report pertaining to the conditions of this area and the circumstances of the operations of a revolutionary and governmental nature in Mehabad.

The dispatched ETTELA'AT reporter writes: "When I first entered the Mehabad brigade, I noticed something interesting. An order was given by the commander of the Mehabad brigade to each soldier, to say "Takbir" [God is great] upon leaving the base. In a corner of the garrison, I saw a large group of Mehabad students, as well as lovable children and Kurdish brothers, busy learning from brother soldiers the use of different military equipment. When it was time to learn about tanks, everybody rode on one and shouted "Takbir" which was an inthe influence and export of the Islamic Revolution to the liberated areas. The students, after learning about military equipment, left for the garrison's mosque. In the mosque, the commander of the brigade first in simple language, talked about the revolution and the situation of the illegal armed groups in the area, and asked the students religious questions and they answered. Then one came forward and recited the "Hand and Sureh" [a passage from the Koran], and was met with the enthusiasm of the students and soldiers. Following that, all the students shouted the slogan, "Death to America" so loudly that their voices shook the Mosque. Finally, the students left the garrison singing revolutionary songs."

Protecting the Results of the Revolution

Then I took the opportunity and talked to Colonel Mohammad Ali Sharifolnasb, the commander of the Mehabad Brigade, and asked him about the condition of the garrison. He said, "The Revolution is being plundered by American mercenaries, in a manner, that at this time, the weapons must be aimed at the heart of the enemy in the war front, because the hands of these filthy elements are aimed at the hearts of our guards corps and soldiers.

The Mehabad garrison was occupied by the plunderers for quite a long time until the brave warriers of Islam, after many confrontations, became victorious.

Since then, the self-sacrificing guards-corps brothers are struggling day and night to protect the gains of the revolution and many people have become martyrs in this way."

People of Mehabad Are the Most Loyal People to the Revolution

Colonel Sharifolnasb, after mentioning that he has come to Mehabad voluntarily, said: "Since I had a deep knowledge of the frustration and oppression caused by the shah's fallen regime and small groups of political parties, I prepared myself for serving the most noble and at the same time the most deprived of this region of my country. In the most splendorous gathering of the people of Mehabad in the Jame' Mosque, I announced that this army, in the name of Islam, is proud to be the army of mercy and blessing for the oppressed and indigent and will cause wrath for the oppressor and arrogant. I promised right there that with the efforts of loyal personnel, and unity and solidarity with guards corps brothers, that peace would be established in minimum time in the area. It is worthy to say that in this area, out of 24 hours, more than 12 were under the hail of bullets of the internal and foreign enemies. But as a result of providing stability and security, the Bank Melli and other banks were established, communication with the help of the brothers of the Islamic Council of Central Communication was started, the problems of the city's television was solved, and construction of the Mehabad road to Mian Dow-Ab, which is a big help to the economic progress of the region, was resolved. The Gendarmerie regiment, with excellent spirit, have started working, and the construction projects are being rapidly completed one after another. Most importantly, to secure the people's health, the garrison has established a clinic with the cooperation and efforts of the loyal military physicians. They treat the sick free of charge, and in some areas, scarce powdered milk is given to the dear Kurdish mothers free of charge. My impression about the brave people of Mehabad is that they are revolutionary and Islamic fundamentalists. I know the beloved nature of this city. They are among the most faithful people to the revolution and the country. If it was not so, if only 10 percent of these people were identified with the other group, due to the political and military situation of the region, you and I would not have a place in the mainstream of this society and Kordestan would never find stability within this region. During these 3 years, the antirevolutionary elements, meaning the few number of American mercenaries, in order to protect themselves from the eye of the law and the revenge of the people, dexteriously introduced people as anti-revolutionary, and they themselves in the context of governing the oppressed, became sovereign. But we succeeded with the help of the people and created self-confidence in them, and broke the false government of this group, in a way that gradually the people's fear was placated and one of these days, their cries of "God is great," without fear from small groups, will echo in the skys of Mehabad.

Commander Sharifolnasb added: "It is necessary to be reminded that the affiliated mini-groups, named Democrat and Kumoleh, are much meaner and more despotic than the shah's regime. I am happy with the progress of activities since confrontations have almost totally ceased, and the people are used to the stability and they are even cooperating to create stability in the city. I have learned during this time that under the protection of sincere "God is great" and faith in God, we will achieve everything."

The Situation of Armed Groups

The commander of the Mehabad Brigade, in regard to the situation of the armed groups in the area, said: "Anti-revolutionary activities in the area from the political and administrative point of view, as a whole, have disintegrated and most of the traitorous leaders have been captured or are fugitives. They have observed the capture of the barracks and the unity of the fighters and guards corps in operation, and the deadly and surprised blows. The interesting thing is that every day, many letters have been received from the areas dissolved parties applying for asylum and separation from these groups and asking the army for refuge. They have reached the conclusion that faced with an army which within the distance of 1,400 kilometers, is fighting superpowers and especially world-devouring America, there is no other way except to surrender, and it is 100 percent definite that the army of Mercy and Abundance will give them refuge. Thus, in fact right now, a number of them have started honorable lives in the bosom of Islam.

He added: "We have told the honorable people of Mehabad that stability must be restored in the area as soon as possible so that we will be on our way to the southern front to crush the aggressor enemy. They must not permit the foreign mercenaries to overtake us in the area, and cause a few days of happiness to Saddam's supporters.

We Welcome Arming Loyal Kurds

The commander of the Mehabad Brigade added: "If the Kurdish people like arms, we accept that as a fact, and we welcome arming the true believers and dispatching them to the warfront of truth against futileness, in order to be able to establish a front in the west of the country named the Mehabad front, and to rapidly secure the war in the west of the country and enter Iraqi soil. Of course, the people welcomed this plan and were even ready to send their children to the war fronts. They themselves also devoted a few months of the year to defending the Islamic land and protect the gains of the revolution. Thus, in addition to preparing the preliminary mobilization of Mehabad, a great number of Mehabad's girl and boy students, in order to get acquainted with light and heavy armor military equipment, and to have contact with brother soldiers, came to the garrison and were greatly impressed by the military programs."

He also said: "The Mehabad garrison has started a great revolution through the blessing of the blood of Martyr's and the third revolution and by making use of tactics of the beloved Imam, has selected the Mosque as the starting point and launching platform and expanded this great movement in all dimensions. In a manner, it has been placed at a distinguished level from the point of political, military and religious knowledge, and the military base has become like an Islamic and military university.

The emphasis on Islamic motives has caused the soldier to know why and with whom he is fighting, and with knowledge of this fact, and abstention from blind obedience, he shows a power several times more than the ordinary soldier. This matter has been proven to the people of Mehabad many times. It has been shown that under the protection of the Koran and shouting "Allah Akbar" in addition to victory and securing the stability of the city, rapidly all the dissension ending in Mehabad

has been purged. It is interesting that the Mehabad garrison is turning to a productive center in agriculture and industry, in a way that in this connection, all the land in the garrison is ploughed and is ready for cultivation and brother soldiers have it in mind to cultivate the finest type of wheat in the coming summer in the uncultivated lands of the garrison and the foothills of the heights. Thus, to help the self-supporting economy of the country and also to acquaint the people with revolutionary methods utilizing unknown and clandestine powers.

The progress of projects which have been done with careful and immaculate planning have been such that the results have been perceived in a much wider area than Mehabad. We are sure as we have asked the allied people to continue their cooperation with the military and disciplinary forces in order to enable us to tell the fighting nation of Iran that: "The brothers and sisters of Mehabad are on your side, and are behind the leader, and that the mainstream of the revolution, and the path of holiness is passing through this holy land."

Colonel Sharifolnasb concluded his talk: "In my view Kordestan is like a small child that filthy hands have been trying to part from its mother. When we cut off these hands, this faithful child, in the bosom of its mother, which is the blessed Islamic revolution of Iran, will be freed and both will embrace each other heartily."

9815

CSO: 4640/45

SADDAM HYSAYN ADDRESSES SPECIAL FORCES

JN061856 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1815 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Text] Baghdad, 6 Dec (INA)--President Saddam Husayn has said that the Iraqi Army's 15 months of fighting marks a new phenomenon in the Arab homeland. Addressing a batch of the special forces who were preparing to wage a new battle against the Iranian enemy in the southern sector of the battlefront, President Saddam Husayn said that the sons of the Arab nation envy you for carrying out the trust of defending great Iraq. He added: You will be fighting armed with your principles and valor, which will leave a mark of honor in Iraq's history.

President Saddam Husayn said that the special forces are fighting the enemy as men whose responsibility is to defend the homeland and whose principal task is to fight when the country is exposed to dangers. The special forces, he added, are the Fedayeen division of the Iraqi Army.

President Saddam Husayn stressed the need for preventing the Iranian enemy from occupying any Iraqi position and for dealing further blows to its forces. This, the president added, would force the enemy to stop the war and recognize Iraq's rights in its land and waters.

The text of President Saddam Husayn's speech was broadcast over Baghdad television tonight while airing a film on his excellency's weeklong tour of the battlefront that ended last night.

During the tour, the president decorated the officers and other ranks of an Iraqi military brigade and other military formations. The president decorated them with medals of valor for their brave fighting against, and dealing painful blows to, the enemy personnel in one of the battles which recently raged in the Khafajiyah [Susangerd] area.

CSO: 4404/163

KURDISTAN PARTY ISSUES STATEMENT ON EVENTS

JN061938 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1900 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Text] Baghdad, 6 Dec (INA)--The Kurdistan Revolutionary Party, an offshoot of the Progressive National and Patriotic Front in Iraq, has asserted that the Iraqi people are standing proud, armed with a high and steadfast spirit to deter the aggressors and regain their legitimate rights on their land and waters, which were usurped by the racist Persians.

This came in a statement issued by the party following the 2-day ordinary meeting of the Central Committee. The committee discussed the party's internal situation and international, Arab and local events and developments.

The party said that the war, which is imposed by the Iranian regime on Iraq, is aimed at achieving the designs of imperialism and Zionism in the area, imposing a humiliating settlement on the Palestinian people and liquidating the Arabs' central issue in accordance with the U.S., Zionist and reactionary scheme.

The statement condemned the U.S. military maneuvers in the area, asserting that the threats which are being made these days by imperialist and Zionist circles, particularly U.S. imperialism, are a link in the chain of the treasonous Camp David accords and are a provocation aimed at intimidating the Arab masses and forcing them to accept the U.S.-Zionist solution of the Palestinian issue.

The party reiterated its support and backing for the Palestinian people's struggle, led by the PLO, for the sake of determining their own future and setting up a free and independent state on their own national soil. The party expressed full confidence that this just struggle would be crowned with victory so long as they choose the armed struggle as their road.

CSO: 4404/163

BRIEFS

RADIO ON UPROOTING OF KURDS, TURKOMEN--Honorable Iraqi citizens, freemen of the world: The dictatorial regime, which indulges in treasonous crimes against our people and homeland, continues its racist crimes in Kurdistan to liquidate the Kurdish people and fraternal ethnic groups, especially the Turkomen, and to change the historical and national characteristics of Kurdistan. Tyrant Saddam Husayn, chairman of the so-called Revolution Command Council, has published his decision No 1391 in Issue No 2856 of the Iraqi official GAZETTE dated 2 November 1981. The decision provides for the deportation of thousands of Kurdish and Turkomen families from Kurdistan to central and southern Iraq. The first batch of 20,000 families will be transferred to the provinces of al-Qadisiyah, al-Muthanna, Dhi Qar and al-Anbar. Priority will be given Turkomen and then Kurdish families from the provinces of al-Ta'mim and Kirkuk. [Text] [JN071433 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan in Arabic 1550 GMT 6 Dec 81]

COOPERATION WITH SOVIET MINISTER--Baghdad, 8 Dec (INA)--Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and first deputy prime minister, met here today with Soviet Machine Building Minister Bakhriev. They discussed developing relations between the two friendly countries and ways to strengthen them. Ramadan and Bakhirev expressed satisfaction with the progress of bilateral relations, stressing the importance of expanding cooperation in various fields to serve their mutual interests. The Soviet minister arrived here yesterday on a weeklong visit. [Text] [JN081039 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1030 GMT 8 Dec 81]

SUPPORT URGED FOR KURDISH CAUSE--To every honest compatriot, to the world peace council, to the Committee in Defense of Human Rights, to all liberation movements in the region and the world, to all liberation, progressive and socialist forces in the world, to all political and judicial organizations and figures and righteous democratic forces in the world, to all friends of the Iraqi and Kurdish peoples throughout the world: Freemen and strugglers, raise your righteous voices in defense of Kurds, Turkomen and all Iraqis. Raise your voices against the racist and fascist measures by the dictatorial regime in Baghdad. Declare your solidarity with the struggle of our people--Arabs, Kurds and ethnic groups--against the regime's terrorism and fascist activities. Support the Kurdish people who are defending their own existence and dignity. Support all Iraqis who are fighting for democracy, liberation and social progress. Our people, with all its opposition patriotic [wataniyah] and Islamic revolutionary forces, ethnic groups and religions, look for your fraternal support and solidarity. Raise your voices in protest against the rule of the tyrant Saddam al-Tikriti and his terrorist clique. [Text] [JN071446 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan in Arabic 1550 GMT 6 Dec 81]

'POPULAR ARMY' BENEFITS--Based on the provisions of paragraph (A) of article 42 of the provisional constitution the Revolutionary Command Council, at its session held on 18 November 1981, decided the following: The tour of Popular Army and other civilian volunteer fighters in the pan-Arab battle against the racist Persian enemy outside the territorial borders of the country will be considered double duty for the purposes of retirement. The commander in chief of the Popular Army and the ministers concerned will be charged with implementing this resolution retroactive to 4 September 1980. [Excerpt] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 20 Nov 81 p 6]

CSO: 4404/158

RAFI'AH WITHDRAWAL SAID DIFFICULT PROBLEM

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 15 Oct 81 p 7

[Article by Dan Margolit: "Toward Withdrawal"]

[Text] The reacton of Gershon Shaked, professor of Hebrew literature, to the radio interview with Ge'ula Kohen demonstrated the high emotional level characterizing the struggle surrounding withdrawal from Rafi'ah. When speaking about the possibility of deterring continued withdrawal, MK Kohen explained the challenges she would present to the soldiers opposing the settlers. Shaked interpreted her remarks to mean intended agitation, inciting mutiny, and he alerted Yosef Lapid, general manager of the broadcasting network, to the content of Kohen's statements.

Within 2 days, MK Kohen was interviewed on one of the networks. She repeated that her intention was merely to speak with the soldiers, who would discuss the issue with their sargeants, who in turn would pass the information on to their officers, the chief of the general staff and finally to the prime minister, until everyone was convinced that the retreat should be halted. In light of Professor Shaked's reaction, the interviewer asked MK Kohen if she was calling upon the soldiers to mutiny, to refuse to obey orders. Kohen from Tehiya was aware from the start that her statements would create problems. She responded that this was by no means the intention. Everything would be based on persuasion, free will and understanding.

There is perhaps no other subject which currently elicits such a high emotional response as the question of withdrawal from Rafi'ah. The fear is multi-faceted and should be seen against the background of the Gush Emunim settlers who have occupied abandoned homes in the area to be cleared and against the background of Sadat's murder. There is increased apprehension that Yamit and similar settlements will become a battleground, physically and emotionally, such as Israel has never known, not even in the emotional struggle which threatened the government and the constitution during the negotiations with Germany concerning reparations.

Even prior to Sadat's murder, there were already many signs that the struggle was becoming more fierce and that positions were becoming less flexible as the April 1982 deadline drew near. Kohen's friends had known for about a month about her intent to relocate to Yamit. It was only a technical delay in the publication date of the notice that created the wrong impression, namely that

her action was a response to the dramatic events in Egypt. The decision and the notice of the move to Yamit had been set up well in advance of that.

The settlers expressed their intent to fortify their position in the territory and to constitute a threat to the administration. The Gush Emunim group that penetrated Talmei Yosef has refused to evacuate of its own accord. If the existence of these intruders in Rafi'ah was known a month ago, the government passed up the perfect opportunity to remove them immediately and with due haste from the abandoned homes. Sadat's murder further decreases the chances of removing them in the near future. From a realistic point of view the problem is how to prevent the continuation of the phenomenon, when the possible solutions, namely closing off the area or destroying the homes, are not desirable for the government.

As part of the continuing phenomenon there is worried talk in government and political circles of weapons being stockpiled in Yamit and nearby settlements. Even those who refuse to acknowledge the extremist threats attributed to M'eir Kahane's group, know that violent confrontation is the compelling test of reality. The main question is what form the confrontation will take, and what dimensions.

In the event that actions on both sides are well thought out and strategically planned, the settlers will be able to estimate the limits of their own strength and define their own goals. From the settlers' point of view the situation during the decisive month will be influenced by several factors:

- the numbers of those living in Rafi'ah and refusing to withdraw at the beginning of the decisive phase of the struggle.
- the image they build during these next few months. The settlers are trying to create the image of upholders of the law, which is desirable for their propaganda as they seek to expand the circle of support for their position to include groups further removed from Gush Emunim and Tehiya. Toward this end, the possibility of armed conflict must remain vague, since this factor might well alienate them from supporters and excite the government. The prevailing uncertainty on this issue particularly worries the government and has already caused the government to refrain from making the decision to keep new settlers out.
- The settlers know they can depend on reinforcements trying to reach them, but they are taking into consideration the possibility that the roads will be blocked.
- Those pitted against withdrawal know that a certain degree of support for the settlers can be expected from groups whose ideologies are different from theirs. Feelers have indicated the emotional tension which exists as the evacuation of the settlements approaches. The character of the struggle to oust the settlers will determine the extent of public support they receive. The more extreme the physical encounters, the smaller the peripheral support.

- One important unknown is the stability of Husni Mubarak's government.

The settlers have no influence however on the events in Egypt and cannot take these into account when making their determinations.

From the government's point of view, the main difficulty is to determine what stand the settlers will take on withdrawal. Until now they have been unanimously single-minded--to prevent withdrawal. If this is their sole, adamant goal, the government will have no choice but to confront them head on, a possibility which is not desirable, especially for the minister of efense, Ari'el Sharon. Despite Prime Minister Menachem Begin's promises, in the end Sharon will be the one to do the job.

This fear has caused alarm in political circles. The growing idea that armed conflict is unavoidable indirectly aids the settlers. In some circles, shocking scenarios have been envisioned, depicting the settlers opening fire on the army and treating Rafi'ah as their Massada.

This fear is a fallacy. The main group of settlers are Gush Emunim members, products of the Central Rabbinical Yeshiva who would not choose a solution of this kind. They do not feel that Yamit is their Massada, because Rafi'ah is not the last stronghold but the first, whose future they are fighting for, now. But the fact remains that this fear has settled in among government ministers and affects current decision-making processes.

On the government's side of the chess board, where the struggle against the settlers is taking place, additional considerations come into play. Menachem Begin may want a smooth, rapid transfer of the territory to Egypt, but there are government forces hoping that the settlers will not be subdued too quickly. They want to exploit the rebellion to convince the United States that the government cannot continue to make territorial concessions. A limited struggle, one which would not surpass the bounds of control by the security forces, could serve the government's interests. It is consistent with Begin's concept of sovereign interests as perceived during the struggle with Henry Kissinger, at the time of signing the interim agreement. The unstable situation in Egypt reinforces this approach.

The settlers are not making it any easier for the government. The ministers do not know what is going on in the enemy camp. The government receives information from accidental conversations, the validity of which cannot be determined. Further, a firm policy has yet to be formulated. The government has to consider the possibility that in the course of events all restraint may be abandoned by the leaders of the settlers. The feeling which prevails among the ministers comes out of self-interest. They feel that Gush Emunim and its supporters may weaken, or worse yet, that Jewish blood might be spilled in Rafi'ah before it is evacuated.

9811

CSO: 4423/38

POLITICS OF SINAI WITHDRAWAL ANALYZED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 23 Oct 81 Weekend Supplement pp 8, 9

[Article by David Oren: "Withdrawal and Persuasion"]

[Text] Five months before the return of the Rafi'ah area to Egypt, as per the Camp David accords, the conclusion to be reached following a long, open conversation with Yitzhak Regev, chairman of a board of 13 settlements in the region, is that in April 1982 blood will be shed in Yamit. The meeting which took place between Regev, his friends and Prime Minister Menachem Begin last Friday, did not change the feeling that has surrounded the issue for several weeks now. "This whole affair has become a trap. There is a momentum building up that cannot be stopped. Even if solutions can be found and arrangements made for all the settlers, an invisible hand will still light the terrible fire of civil war."

This somber prediction by Yitzhak Regev must be seen with some reservation. One must not forget that this 33-year old man represents a vested interest in the forces still active in the Sinai gateway on the eve of withdrawal. Presenting the situation in somber terms and sounding the alarm about the radical events likely to take place may well be part of the war on public opinion being waged by area settlers in their struggle to get the fattest compensation possible. However, one must not ignore these statements, coming from the man who is best informed as to what is happening, especially regarding the dynamic activities of the "Committee to Stop the Retreat in Sinai" (SRS) and the "Gush Emunim" group in 'Atzmona, Talmei Yosef and the town of Yamit. He is also privy to the statements made by the Knesset members from Tehiya, Hanan Porat and Ge'ula Kohen.

[Question] Who does the "invisible hand" belong to, the hand that will "light the terrible fire of civil war?"

[Answer] Look, in this area it's not a big secret. The fact is that an underground exists. Some call it the "suicidal underground." It's a group of people whose goal is to do everything to prevent withdrawal from the settlements. They work under ground and no one has seen them yet. But this underground exists. It has some supporters from the area, but most are on the outside. Its members state clearly and candidly that in April 1982 they will be here and they will have a go at it, meaning that the pullback will not be accomplished. If they can prevent withdrawal, one or two deaths will not be considered a major tragedy. In the past, they have tried to join in the activities of the settlers' committee,

to draw the settlers into more radical action. But when we realized this trend, we quickly broke all ties with them.

[Question] So you've met them. You've spoken with them. Who are the members of this underground? Are they "Gush Emunim" people?

[Answer] I never met them face to face, and that's the truth. If I were to meet them, I would probably pass the information on to the security forces. I want to emphasize that no one from the settlements in this area that I represent want's bloodshed. Civil war is not an option for the fulfillment of our goals. But I've spoken with the members of the underground on several occasions, by telephone. They suggested actions which led me to understand what their real intentions are. Their struggle is not our struggle. I don't know who these people are. Are they from "Gush Emunim?" They may well be, I don't ignore that possibility. But if so, they are a small, marginal group within the "Gush," a radical group whose existence may even be unknown to the "Gush" itself.

[Question] You said that these anonymous people raised issues and suggested ideas for action during your telephone conversations. Can you be specific?

[Answer] To kidnap a number of Egyptian officers from the peace station at Ne'ot Sinai, and in so doing, awaken world opinion and perhaps destroy the trust between Israel and Egypt. Another suggestion was to sabotage the peace station at Ne'ot Sinai. There were other ideas and suggestions, all in the same vein. Of course, I rejected them from the outset. I explained to these people, by telephone, that this was not our way, that we had no intention of cooperating with them. When they realized that we would stand firm on this position, they stopped calling.

[Question] Did you bring these incidents to the attention of the security forces? Is this situation known to the appropriate government agencies?

[Answer] Naturally. I spoke to many people about it, among them the prime minister and other select ministers. But to tell you the truth, they didn't need my report. Over the past few months there have been serious accidents in the region, such as the electric lines that blew up on one moshav. These incidents forced the security people to open their eyes. Those of us who live here all know each other. It's not likely that any of the residents would endanger himself by perpetrating such an action.

[Question] I understand that these activities have now ceased. Why?

[Answer] I have no idea. But it is my understanding that the government is nonetheless working to identify the underground. It's no secret in the area that numerous telephones are bugged.

Unlike most others, Yitzhak Regev (a declared rightwinger from "the real Herut," in his own words) is not convinced that the "Gush Emunim" people who have penetrated the area over the past few weeks are the ones pushing for a civil war. He is convinced and certain that Ge'ula Kohen would not be part of a civil war, nor would Hanan Porat. Regev's attitude toward Porat is "respect him but

suspect him." In the not so distant past he worked arm in arm with the forces attempting to halt the withdrawal from Sinai. He was among those who tried to persuade Knesset members to vote against the Camp David agreements and he took part in the famous and bitter struggle at Gan Yarok in Ne'ot Sinai. During these activities, he came to understand the people who are now in the territory. He asks us to believe that when the evacuation begins on 26 April, these people will only try to "persuade and explain."

Despite this, against the background of the fanatic, rebellious declarations and actions emanating from the Rafi'ah area, Regev's statements sound almost like the epitome of compromise. He does not believe in the peace treaty with Egypt, an opinion which he shares with most residents in the region, ("I would be happy if time were to prove me wrong"), and if it was up to him, he would prevent the withdrawal and the return of the territory to Egypt. But, during the violent struggle in Gan Yarok between the settlers and IDF soldiers, he understood—as did the other residents, when so few citizens came to support their struggle—that "the battle over Yamit is lost." It was then that the famous saying was born: "Yamit was murdered and died in Camp David. We must bury it as quickly as possible."

[Answer] We understood then that we must get up and go. The awareness that Israel would not hold on to the territory for years to come finally penetrated us. Even if we could halt withdrawal, the area has already been "sold" to Egypt as part of the terrible mistake made at Camp David. If the pullback is not made today, it will be next year, the year after, or even 10 years from now. Let's not play dumb. Husni Mubarak, Egypt's new president, will continue to move things along uneventfully until April 1982. Anyone who thought something might happen in Egypt which might make it possible to break the Camp David accords is naive. Healthy logic tells us to get out and take what's coming to us. We may go with a heavy heart and much pain, but there's nothing to do about that.

[Question] Because of your stand, the head of the Yeshiva in Yamit, Rabbi Israel Ari'el, has called you the country's fifth column.

[Answer] The fifth column in this country is made up of those preaching civil war—whatever the justification may be—people like Rabbi Ari'el. Anyone preaching civil war, in God's name or in the name of any other cause, is a criminal. Rabbi Ari'el doesn't have to tell me about Yamit. He doesn't love the area more than any of the other settlers. He doesn't represent anyone in the region and he's not entitled to anything from anyone. I've heard his statements. I've heard them well. He says: "Nothing will happen if a woman hits a soldier over the head with a carpet beater, or if a few shots are fired." Anyone who says such things is a criminal. He is the fifth column. I'd rather be labelled an opportunist than be called blood thirsty, because I'm not, nor are any of the other settlers. If Rabbi Ari'el wants to drag the area into radical action, we won't get involved. We'll do everything to prevent a tragic step like that. The settlers' committee is a—political. We have no intentions of abetting the political activities of any group whatsoever.

[Question] But today the situation is such that you, Rabbi Israel Ari'el, the SRS people and the "Gush Emunim" people are all in one pot. Directly or indirectly their actions serve your interests, namely to put pressure on the government.

[Answer] In the current situation, due to the government's weak response to the needs of the settlements, this is unfortunately the case. We saw Rabbi Ari'el in Gan Yarok. We also saw all the other heroes from "Gush Emunim." But we were the ones who were really fighting there, because we really had what to lose: our homes, our land. However, we knew our limits. Everyone in this area carries a weapon, as instructed by security. Before we entered Gan Yarok, everyone's weapons were dismantled. General Dan Shomron was there, and the guys from the officers training, and we stood up to the challenge. To say that we left there with uplifted spirits as one might have following a victory is totally false. We walked around in a state of semi-shock for 3 months afterwards. It was a terrible trauma and I'm sorry we got involved.

Rabbi Ari'el can talk about high ideals, about a struggle in God's name. I can't. I can only talk about garbage, about money, about the rights of every settler. It may sound ugly and sad but that's what I have to do, represent those who turn to me, in hundreds of phone calls, and ask: What's going to happen? Civil war? No way. We won't go that far. No house is so beautiful and no piece of land is so good as to be worth the price of a civil war. I deeply regret that all the groups active in the area are so bound up with each other.

[Question] In the situation that is likely to arise, will you, the settlers, fight with the "Gush Emunim" people and the rest of the anti-withdrawal groups against the IDF soldiers or any other force brought in to evacuate you?

[Answer] I've had a feeling for a few months now that the government forces, like the population at large, do not understand just what will happen here in April 1982. We are not "Gush Emunim" people who will start a struggle. They'll get a good picture on television and in that fashion they will have expressed their protest. We're talking about a group of 400 families, working people, who have no place to go after the evacuation. And if they have no place to go, they'll stay here, despite everything. Someone has to realize this. I know the dynamics created by this kind of confrontation. I witnesses it first hand at Gan Yarok. It was a miracle that the confrontation there ended with no deaths. It was a miracle that a tragedy was prevented. This time, when some of the people taking part in the confrontation are people who have nothing to lose, it will be much worse, much more dangerous. Already I hear friends saying: Let's fortify the area. They're bitter, they hurt, they feel cheated. They feel that they're being manipulated, that they're being treated like garbage. They're likely to do things I wouldn't even want to think about. And what's more, you mustn't forget the underground we spoke of, which openly declares its intention to sabotage the withdrawal at any cost.

[Question] From what you're saying it sounds like the confrontation in Yamit in April 1982 is inevitable, whether your financial demands are met or not.

[Answer] Given the current situation, you're absolutely right. I'll go still further and say something that's been brewing inside me for a long time: I have a feeling that certain forces in the region clearly intend to create a civil war. This kind of war would serve their interests. It's possible that "Gush Emunim" or the people from a "United Israel" would have such interests.

The national trauma of a civil war in Yamit would serve as a warning to any future government sitting down to discuss any agreement related to withdrawal from settlements in Judea and Samaria.

The national trauma of a civil war would also serve those political forces seeking to change the government in Israel. I also have a feeling that at certain levels within the government there is a desire to create this kind of trauma. And no, I'm not referring to the upper echelons. I talked with the prime minister and he spoke with pain and sorrow about his efforts to prevent internal wars in the past. I believe his intentions are pure. I'm referring to lower level officials. Maybe they are intentionally encouraging the settlers and Gush Emunim to fight, in the hope that after a civil war breaks out, the political rule in Israel will be shaken. Maybe, I have no proof, but I also have no other explanation for the apathy and lack of caring within their ranks insofar as anything related to the region.

The War on Public Opinion

Yitzhak Regev is a pleasant conversationalist. He's quick to respond and his words need no clarification. He shoots from the hip. The young man from Haifa (married and the father of two children) uses Ne'ot Sinai as the working center and financial office for the agricultural settlement. During his tenure as director of the settlers committee, he has learned the ins and outs of the media. He has learned to use it and to "read between the lines." In the many hours spent with government representatives, who had come in an effort to solve the residents' problems, he also learned to distinguish what he calls the "undercurrents of regional dynamics." This explains, for example, why he's not overly concerned about the fact that for now no action is being taken to remove about 50 Gush Emunim infiltrators from Talmei Yosef, 'Atzmona and Yamit. He believes that refraining from any action at this time is the wisest move the government could make. According to Regev's reading of the "underground currents" the government would prefer to handle the situation on the day of the evacuation and avoid a long drawn out incident lasting 5 months.

But he is disturbed—even angered—by the uneasiness recently expressed by some of his friends—colleagues, fellow residents in the area. Even today—a week after the meeting with Prime Minister Begin who declared his intention to arrive at a quick and logical solution to the problems of area residents—there is strong doubt among the residents regarding the future. Regev is sensitive to the the stirrings of the people he represents—in their struggle against the government and their demands for monetary compensation. He does not deny the fact that many people in the region are interested in forceful action. For the last 3 months the settlers have refraired from taking any action such as they had in the past—closing roads, burning tires and the like—because of their verbal agreement with the prime minister. "Begin broke his promise," says Regev. "How long can I keep the people in check? If the valve bursts, God forbid..."

As a first step, Regev and his colleagues on the steering committee plan to take moderate action, so as not to exacerbate the relations between the settlers and the government. Regev talks about turning to the court of justice, demanding from the government's legal counsel that an independent investigating committee be established, ("Maybe this committee can prevent the impending tragedy come April 1982") and calling upon public opinion in Israel to gain support for their struggle.

[Question] What reason do you have to believe that you'll be able to promote widespread understanding within the Israeli public? The criticism against you has been harsh. In the eyes of many—and with some justification—you look like opportunists. It's no secret that you've been called "merchants," "extortionists" and "profiteers" dealing in peace, as well as a few other epithets of the same variety.

[Answer] True. I don't even get excited about the names we've been called. I know the people here. I know what kind of people we're talking about. I'd be willing to conduct a study and publish the results afterward. These are guys who served in combat units. There is a higher percentage of ranking officers here than anywhere else in Israel, and that's a valid criterion in Israeli society. These are good people, some of the best. There's something about moshavniks--they're just a little better than most. We didn't get carried away and excited when they called us "pioneers." We didn't make a big deal about it when they brought representatives from the Fund and from the Bundes and introduced us as the pioneers making the desert bloom. We didn't complain when we lived 5 years in caravans. We didn't ask for anything when times were bad, and I remember those cimes. At the time, I was secretary of the agricultural settlement and I was integrally involved in all its activities. We did not see ourselves as heroes. Anyone who thinks we are extortionists or profiteers in peace--may he enjoy the thought. It hurts us because the truth is anything but. I would refer the enlightened public to the words of peace judge Asher. Asher, in his judgement on our case, clearly determined that the settlers were being treated in an inhuman fashion, that they were being cheated and duped-those were his exact words.

[Question] This week it was publicized that the settlers' portfolio would receive 50 million shekels, and that each resident had already received an advance ranging from 1.9 to 2.6 million shekels. It's impossible to ignore the fact that we're talking about large sums which have been placed at your disposal to start a new life in a fair and respectable manner. Don't you think your demands are really exaggerated?

[Answer] That's really the problem, all those numbers! All the lies that the government is promulgating via the mass media! Where are those figures coming from? The government is throwing sand in the people's eyes. It's a war of attrition against us, a war on public opinion. How much did they say we'd receive? Fifty million shekels? If someone with the necessary authority came here right now, I'd strike a deal for a far lower sum! In order to make us appear contemptible and in order to give us a bad reputation in the eyes of the public, they're throwing numbers into the air. Where are these figures about advances coming from? The truth is that we have to date received sums

ranging from 900,000 to 1.5 million shekels, that's all. How did these higher figures come into play? Very simply, someone calculated them based on today's index. Now really, does that sound reasonable?

It's very easy to turn public opinion against us. It's even easier perhaps to imbue the public with the idea that we're profiteers. I'm sorry, but we have a different message to relay. We must negotiate for money because if we don't insist on it, we'll leave the area with the feeling that we've been thrown out of the most beautiful region in the country and what's more, that we were cheated and manipulated. Do we deserve that? Dear God, we do have laws in the State of Israel! All we want is what's coming to us, that which the law allows for. Why are they fooling around with us? Why are they making entire families miserable?

[Question] The government claims that you are undermining the negotiations for compensation to area residents, that negotiations have already been completed with 20 percent of the residents.

[Answer] That's another dirty lie! Whoever said that negotiations have been completed with 20 percent of the settlers is either lying (and he knows it) or he doesn't know what he's talking about. I know the facts, and I say it's not true. With the exception of a few individual families who gave up at the beginning of the struggle, those for whom the decision to withdraw only hastened their own decision to leave. The majority of the families are still hanging on and waiting for the negotiations to be completed. What do we want after all? We want someone official, someone with the authority to make a decision, to come and sit with us. We want him to tell us where we stand, how much we'll get, when we'll get it. These people here have other debts. They want to know if they'll be able to meet their financial obligations. I myself signed a \$50,000 note in December, to buy a house in Haifa where I'll live after the evacuation. People have purchased homes or farms. They want to know how it's going to work out.

We're undermining the negotiations? How? Emissary after emissary from the government has reached us. They came, they listened, they left. Each one had his reason for coming. Judge Berenzon was here, having been sent by the government. He sat, he listened, he asked questions, he arrived at conclusions. We accepted his conclusions even though we knew he was sent by the government. But Arik Sharon decided that Berenzon wasn't needed, that the situation could be handled without his help. The general manager of the Ministry of Agriculture comes and goes. He accepts our position. But he has no authority. There is no point in talking with people like that.

It's no secret that the negotiations on the amount of compensation to Yamit area residents (The residents of the town of Yamit are a separate group when it comes to demands for compensation. There, 150 families have already been evacuated.) are being conducted slowly. Even when the details had already been agreed upon, someone managed to "blow up" the negotiations. Today the situation is static. The two sides are not in contact, although there is talk of a second advance against compensation. No one, however, knows when this might take place. Regev is convinced that in a week's time "the whole deal"

could be arranged. He solemnly declares that the settlers are willing to accept the decision of any senior government agent with authority, whatever the decision might be. He talks about the deep, troubled feeling settling over the area residents due to the confrontation. He talks about automobile accidents that have occurred in the region, about the increased divorce rate and even one suicide. "People don't understand what it means to be so uncertain about one's future."

In the course of our conversation Regev was careful not to mention the amounts which, in his opinion, the settlers in the Rafi'ah area should receive. Perhaps he didn't want to flaunt the issue and perhaps he didn't want another negative point added to his score in the war on public opinion. In any event, he naturally preferred to turn the conversation to another subject -- the danger of the civil war expected to erupt during the fast approaching withdrawal. As to the future of the settlers, he was willing to say that it was already clear that little would come of all the grandiose plans they had made in the not so distant past. There are those planning to emigrate from Israel. Two or three families -- who had originally come to the area from the United States--have already left the country ("frustrated and bitter, steeped in disappointment"). But there are others, a nucleus of three settlements in the area, who are weaving a plan to establish a tourist spot in the northeastern area around the Sea of Galilee. Yitzhak Regev hopes to be among those to work on that goal. "We told the government not to give us the money directly but to put the money into the tourist area we've proposed, to lay a foundation and to start building. That's alright with us," he says, eyes glowing.

Yitzhak Regev clearly feels hurt by the upheavals within the settlements, by the confrontation from which there is no recourse in his mind, and of course, by the critical public opinion directed against him and his friends: "The whole issue has really hurt the people here. It hurts them a lot, because it's not how much we'll get out of the situation, but how we'll make out emotionally and whether we'll have the strength, after all the hardship, to go on and do something for the country. I hope I will, but I'm not sure about everyone else. Because what has happened here with respect to the way the government has treated the people is a social oversight of the highest order. But if it is an oversight and no more, so be it. I pray that it will not amount to much more."

9811

CSO: 4423/38

KOHEN INTERVIEWED ON SINAI WITHDRAWAL

[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 19 Oct 81 p 9]

[Interview with Ge'ula Kohen by Rafa'el Bashan; date and place not specified]

[Text] Ge'ula Kohen, the Knesset member who had moved to Yamit, returned from there for this interview with me.

Question: Why were you summoned to Yamit?

Kohen: I was not summoned to Yamit on the spur of the moment, nor was I called as a result of the death of President Sadat. It was rather from the moment that the peace plan was presented before the Knesset, the plan which relinquished the Sinai and autonomy. If I was silent at the time, it was only because the Knesset was deafened by the announcement of and excitement over President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, (sarcastically) as if it was the Messiah himself! Today, we're not the only ones who are alarmed. People are opening their eyes more and more each day. In fact, former foreign minister Moshe Dayan, may he rest in peace, declared that he thinks the Egyptians will break the agreement after they get the last third of the Sinai back on 28 April 1982. I must point out that this date has a special significance because it is Israel's independence day. The flag lowering ceremony will take place, according to the agreement, on 27 April 1982, which is the day commemorating fallen IDF soldiers. Further, the citizens of Sinai are scheduled to be evacuated on 7 April 1982, which is the eve of Passover, the holiday commemorating our exodus from Egypt...

Question: Aren't your demands and those of "Tehiya" sabotaging peace and normalization with Egypt? Won't they, in the end, cause us serious difficulties, especially at the international level?

Kohen: Our intent is to at least stop the retreat from the rest of Sinai, although many of us will continue to mourn those sections already returned to Egypt. We in "Tehiya" don't see the accords as the basis for a lasting peace, but as a one-sided concession. Even those who see the withdrawal as necessary for the peace accords know that the agreement was sabotaged by Egypt on more than one occasion. Actually, this was the case when they prevented the continuation of talks concerning autonomy in conjunction with the withdrawal from Sinai, ignoring the stipulations of the Camp David accords. Further, the Egyptians voted in the UN, along with those countries which rejected total withdrawal, for the establishment of a Palestinian State, which is contrary to the

plan for autonomy as outlined in the agreement. They called for the establishment of Palestinian government in exile, not to mention their clear statement of intent to support other Arab nations as soon as Israel showed signs of hostility toward any of them. I should remind anyone who has forgotten that we signed the peace treaty with Egypt under circumstances that were quite different than those prevailing in the world today, with all the accompanying repercussions.

Rigid Policy

Question: What exactly do you mean?

Kohen: I mean that we agreed to return the entire Sinai Peninsula at a time when Afghanistan was being invaded, and on our southern border Saudi Arabia wasn't armed as well or as sophisticatedly as today. The whole Middle East was in turmoil. Under international law, when circumstances change, such as those I've outlined, agreements can be revised. Only a country that wants to lose power indulges in a rigid policy which could, God forbid, lead to annihilation. There are many today who know this, but only a few have the ability to draw conclusions from reality and even fewer would fight to change it.

Question: Why do you consider it such a tragedy that the Israeli Government decided to return the entire Sinai Peninsula over a six-month period--is it the time table they've set up?

Kohen: You don't have to be a professional politician to know what the scenario will be after we've returned the Sinai to them. The fact is that Cairo does not see the agreement with Israel in a vacuum, but in a broader perspective. The famous "there is no linkage" is only in the imagination of Prime Minister Begin. From their point of view, the linkage--the tie between the withdrawal from Sinai and the establishment of a Palestinian State in Judea and Samaria and in Gaza--is close and decisive. This means that after we return the Sinai to the Egyptians, they will launch a serious diplomatic campaign to establish a Palestinian base in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Of course, this will be with the help of American pressure which is already being brought to bear on us today. It's entirely possible that they will immediately demand a solution to the question of the final status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, without waiting for the three years of autonomy to end. Given the current U.S. attitude it's clear to me, without a shadow of doubt, that the pressures on us will be far greater after the final withdrawal from Sinai. And we're already talking about the far-reaching compromises Israel has made to Egypt -- in the areas of land, water and internal security during the proposed autonomy. One might fear that the Egyptians will back out of their "no more war" statement and switch to "no more peace."

I'm not saying that Egypt will start a war against us right at this juncture. War and peace are not decided based on the existence or non-existence of a peace treaty. Wars are waged when one side thinks that his opponent is weak and that he himself is strong. At that point he launches a war. That's how it was between Iraq and Iran, despite the peace treaty they had signed. When we withdraw, the very fact that Israel will then have borders which are more difficult to defend, a weakened morale due to the land we've returned and a depressed economic situation, will open the way for war.

Question: Your demands may be justified, but it appears that they don't lend themselves to implementation. Don't you think your opponents are more realistic?

Kohen: I think, I fully believe that we in "Tebiya" have been proven more realistic. Just as it proved that we were realistic with respect to the enemy's intentions, we will be proven realistic also with respect to the internal forces at work among the Israeli people, encouraging them to stand up to pressure and to a confrontation with those bringing this pressure to bear. Realism is not just a question of recognizing forces abroad but also an evaluation of internal forces, spiritual forces. I believe that retaining Sinai is not only necessary and essential, but also possible. If the government does not want this, then the will of the people must force the government to change its position. We must demonstrate that this is a decision that the people won't stand for.

In the State of Israel today a movement is at work. It is large and growing daily. Its goal is to stop the retreat from the Sinai. Its members are not only people from Tehiya and Gush Emunim but people from the settlements, the moshavim and the various political parties. If the government does not agree to act in a rational and responsible manner, if it uses its power to uproot settlements, then we will have to pit our power against theirs. If we really want to, we can.

Question: Don't you, as a Knesset member, have any problem with the definition you're outlining? If the government enforces its right to remove the settlers, will you use your right to oppose the government?

Kohen (with a thin smile): I will have the same problem faced by the prime minister when he became involved in the experiment to settle Sebastia in Samaria, which was declared illegal by the government at the time. Force was used against the settlers in order to remove them. Begin (who was the head of the opposition at the time) was asked, in my presence, how he could explain the fact that he had visited "an illegal settlement." He answered: "Every settlement in the land of Israel is legal. Only the government's decision on this issue is illegal!"

I will give the prime minister—who at the time asked to go along to Ne'ot Sinai in the Yamit area, since he also considered that area a part of Israel—the same answer: settlement is not illegal! Your decision is! For us, the struggle in Yamit is a battle over Israeli territory. Our struggle is over the principle of settlement. It is also a struggle for the need to struggle! The root of the problem in Israel today is that the State of Israel in effect stopped struggling for those true and essential goals whose absence could mean an end to Zionism.

Lack of Sensitivity and Denial

Question: Is there a meaningful difference between the approach and position of the minister of defense, Arik Sharon, and that of the deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture, Simha Erlich, regarding withdrawal from Sinai?

Kohen: First of all, all the members of the government are equally guilty of having voted for the Camp David accords, and for the fact that we've come to a situation wherein settlements are being uprooted from their land. I was shocked

to hear that ministers Erlich and Nisim had brazenly dared to call the families who went down to Talmei Yosef "intruders," when they are the real pioneers of today! This stand on the part of these ministers is proof not just of a lack of sensitivity toward and understanding of the importance of the Zionist settlement and the political act, but also a denial of the explicit obligation taken on by the government to encourage settlement in the area until the moment of withdrawal, God forbid! The government was obligated to aid these families moving and settling in the area, so that it wouldn't be empty, and to pay down to the last cent whoever would stay until the last minute, God forbid it should come. In an area with upheavals such as ours, isn't it irrational to rush the withdrawal from Sinia, even from a realistic reading of the situation.

As for Arik Sharon, I feel that although he was a partner to the Camp David accords and although he is largely responsible for Yamit, I really hope that today he would not be part of the evacuation. To the contrary, in my opinion he should use the full extent of his authority to prevent this terrible decision!

Question: Are you living in Yamit?

Kohen: I divide my time between the Knesset and Yamit. It's true that my soul has not found peace in these times, with this decree hanging over the area. Yamit and Ofira today are like limbs of our bodies, wounded limbs. In my opinion, especially as a Knesset member, it is up to me to be in the place that hurts the most, the place most in need of assistance. My friends and I in the Knesset will conduct our political struggle from the podium of the Knesset. But the real struggle in the area will be conducted by the settlers themselves, among them a group of unusual idealists. Withdrawal is a tense issue with supporters from all parties.

Even if we don't succeed, God forbid, to save Yamit and Ofira, even then our struggle will not have been for naught. Our struggle will strengthen the power of settlers all over Israel, in Judea, Samaria and the Golan Heights. I do believe, however, that our struggle will be successful, that reason will triumph and the withdrawal will be halted. Our struggle is in Yamit, but not for Yamit. We are, rather, struggling for every home in the State of Israel: every home already in existence and all the homes that will be built in the land of Israel. Our struggle is not only against folding in the territories, but against folding the Zionist flag.

9811

CSO: 4423/38

GOLAN DRUZE CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT POLICY

TA030833 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] The pro-Syrian groups in the Golan Heights are complaining that the Israeli authorities have recently hardened their attitude to the Druze sect members there. They claim that the latest moves are intended to punish them for their refusal to accept Israeli citizenship. The Israeli authorities, however, say that there has been no change in the approach to the Druze. Here are additional details from our correspondent, Yo'el Dar:

The change in the approach to us, the pro-Syrian groups are saying, is taking the form of the 3 week closure of the regional high school in Mas'adah Village, the arrest of six boys on suspicion of incitement against a Hebrew teacher and the positioning of roadblocks on all roads leading to our village. Soldiers supplied with lists, the speakers add, are stopping vehicles and subjecting us to thorough examinations. The reason given is for routine security. But it is no coincidence that those who are being forced to wait for more than an hour at the roadblocks are the leaders of the fight against acceptance of the Israeli identification cards. Moreover, some inhabitants have been interrogated concerning their public activity. In contrast, those who cooperate with Israel meet with a generous and very liberal attitude. This, as I said, is the version of the nationalist groups.

The representatives of the authorities are saying unofficially and uncommittedly that no decision has been made about the change in policy on the Golan Heights Druze, but the truth is that they have ceased to be the spoiled children and they are no longer being treated as being above the law. Israel's friends in the Golan Heights are saying that the latest moves are not significant and have come too late. For example, the Zionist Druze group in Majdal Shams is demanding a halt to all the widescale benefits given to the Druze in the Golan Heights and, in particular, the cancellation of children's allowances. But the latest proposal has not been discussed by any official body and it is doubtful if it will ever be put forward for discussion.

CSO: 4423/56

'HA'ARETZ' ON NEW WEST BANK VILLAGE LEAGUE POLICY

TA301159 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 30 Nov 81 p 9

[Commentary by Yehuda Litani: "Appointed Leaders"]

[Excerpts] A few months after the municipal elections in the West Bank in 1976, from which emerged in most West Bank towns mayors supportive of the PLO, the military government's then Arab affairs adviser Col (Prof) Amnon Kohen was replaced by Col (Prof) Menahem Milson, who currently heads the civilian administration in the West Bank. Colonel Milson's assistant at that time, Yig'al Karmon (today Arab affairs adviser in the military government), knew a resident of the village of Dura in the Hebron subdistrict, Mustafa Dudin, who in 1975 returned from Jordan after having served in numerous venerable posts in the Jordanian regime and, before that, in the government of Egypt.

Mustafa Dudin then started to become a desirable figure to the military government. In his village of Dura he is not regarded as a local leader or clan leader, it being his cousin who represents the Dudin clan at the town's municipal council (Dura has a municipality which is headed by a PLO sympathizer). Military government officers began persuading village mukhtars to join the area village leagues of Mustafa Dudin and of his brothers. The military administration and particularly Milson and Karmon believed that succor would come to the military government in the form of the Dudin brothers.

The military government's attempt to set up area village leagues in the regions of Ramallah and Bethlehem have failed at this stage. Clan relations are much stronger on Mt Hebron than north of it. Moreover, the figures chosen by the administration, Bishara Qimsiyah in Bethlehem and Yusuf al-Khatib (murdered this month by a PLO ambush), were almost unknown to those areas' residents, and they failed to make their leagues work despite massive assistance from the military government.

This is an attempt to circumvent the known urban leadership, and it seems that now, with the appointment of Professor Milson as head of the civilian administration, that attempt will receive a stronger momentum. Professor Milson is known as an ardent opponent of the policy which led to the 1976 municipal elections that resulted in the emergence mayors supportive of the PLO. It is reasonable to assume that during his term in office he will not only seek to reduce the power of the municipalities, but will also try for a flat cancellation of the aforementioned election's inheritance—by invalidating the appointments of several town mayors, as well as of numerous councillors.

Menahem Milson and Yig'al Karmon's reckoning is quite simple: Some 70 percent of the West Bank population is rural, whereas only 30 percent is urban, but the urbanites rule the villagers nevertheless. The attempt now being made is meant to provide the villagers with more independence, so that they can "shed" the urban rule. But Messrs Milson and Karmon seem to be ignoring a few simple facts: the reality of life in the West Bank during the last 2 decades and, particularly since 1967, has in no small measure minimized the difference between the urbanites and villagers. Myriads of villagers have been working since the Israeli occupation in cities in Israel and in the West Bank. The villager of the eighties is much more independent than his fathers were in the thirties and the forties. There is money in his pocket, he is better educated, and his mind works on lines quite similar to those of an urbanite.

It should be noted that among the West Bank security detainees, the percent of villagers resembles their percentage in the general population, which is only one proof refuting Milson and Karmon's oversimplistic theory.

CSO: 4423/56

BRIEFS

AGRICULTURE FREE TRADE ZONE—Israel proposes to set up in Europe a free trade zone for agricultural produce. Israel believes such a step might solve economic problems caused by Spain's and Portugal's joining of the EEC. Our correspondent, Avraham Ben-Melekh, reports that Israel's proposal was raised in Jerusalem today, in the first talk between the deputy preisdent of the EEC Commission, Lorenzo (Natali) and Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and representatives of the economic affairs ministries. It was agreed at the meeting to continue the dialogue between Israel and the EEC institutions. At the beginning of next month, a delegation of experts from the Agriculture Ministry will depart for discussions in Brussels.

[Text] [TA011507 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 1 Dec 81]

PUMPING TESTS AT GAS WELL--Pumping tests have begun at the 3 km-deep (Notera III) gas well in the Hula Valley. Our correspondent has learned that experts from the United States and Japan will come to the site within a few days to help produce the gas, which is mixed with water. Our correspondent also notes that gas was discovered in two of the previous wells in the (Notera) series and gas is already being produced for commercial purposes from one of them. It is hoped that there is a larger quantity in the new well. [Text] [TAO20731 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 2 Dec 81]

LIST OF BANNED BOOKS PUBLISHED—The military censors have published the names of another 11 books that are not to be distributed in the territories, bringing the total number of banned books to about 800. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari reports that the new list includes books on communist issues written by the leader of the Syrian Communist Party, Khalid Bakdash, and South Yemen President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani; a novel by the Palestinian writer, (Rasan Qanafani), as well as political books about the Palestinian problem, against the self—administration and the autonomy and anti-Zionist articles. [Text] [TA010855 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 1 Dec 81]

IDF CENTRAL COMMAND--There has been a change of commanders in the IDF central command. Today Maj Gen Ori Or became commander of the central command. Or is replacing Maj Gen Moshe Levi after the latter was appointed to another senior IDF post. [TAO31639 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 3 Nov 81]

LABOR PARTY COUNCILS--The Labor Party Bureau today elected Ra'anan Kohen as chairman of the minority branch. The Labor Party will soon set up two public councils:

one a Jewish-Arab council and the other, a Jewish-Druze council. It was similarly decided to establish branches in the larger Arab settlements and grant appropriate representation to the 13,000 Arab members of the Labor Party. [TA052010 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 5 Nov 81]

NEW NORTH JERUSALEM NEIGHBORHOOD--The Housing and Construction Ministry has begun building the first houses in the new urban neighborhood called Giv'at Ze'ev, located between Jerusalem and Ramallah. Some 5,000 residential apartments, intended to house 20,000 people, are planned for Giv'at Ze'ev. Initial work was also begun on the new highway that will connect Jerusalem with the coastal plain, along the Jerusalem-Bet Horon axis. [Excerpt] [TA301950 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 30 Nov 81]

EDUCATIONAL TIES WITH SWAZILAND--Jerusalem, 30 Nov--Education and Culture Minister Mr Zvulun Hammer and Swaziland Education Minister Siphethe D. Dlamini have decided to develop educational ties between the two countries. The Swaziland minister recently visited Israel and had held a working talk with Minister Hammer. The guest showed special interest in three spheres developed by the Israeli educational system: vocational training, agricultural education and the literacy program. The minister, accompanied by members of the Education Ministry, toured educational institutions in the country. [Text] [TA301521 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1515 GMT 30 Nov 81]

VILLAGES FORBIDDEN TO REPAIR GENERATORS—The military government will not allow villages in Samaria to repair their electricity—producing generators or to replace old generators with a view to connecting Arab villages to the national electricity network. Orders to this effect were recently issued to the mukhtars of the villages in Samaria. Our correspondent notes that last summer the joint Jordanian—PLO Committee decided to support the rural electricity associations to prevent the connection of the villages to the Israeli network. In response, the military government ordered the villages which had formed electricity associations to dismantle their new generators. [Text] [TA010850 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 1 Dec 81]

AGREEMENT WITH PERU--Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture Minister Simha Ehrlich and Peruvian Agriculture Minister Don Niels Correa Ericson today signed a letter of intention to expand agricultural cooperation between Israel and Peru. The full agreement states that cooperation, mainly on large-scale irrigation, would be expanded by selling Israeli know-how to Peru. Israel presently sells millions of dollars' worth of irrigation equipment to Peru. The new agreement will further expand sales by extending professional advise and giving credit to exporters selling their produce to Peru. The signing ceremony took place at the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv. [Text] [Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 2240 GMT 24 Nov 81]

ARMING OF VILLAGE LEAGUES--The head of the Hebron area Village League, Mustafa Dudin, has welcomed the defense minister's decision to supply arms to the Village Leagues, although he notes that he has heard no official information on this yet. Speaking to our correspondent in Judaea and Samaria, Arye Gus, Dudin wanted to make clear that these arms are intended for defense and not for aggression, adding that he and his people are opposed to terrorism and will never use these weapons for purposes other than defense. Dudin declared that the moment those responsible

for the assassination of Yusuf al-Khatib [the head of the Ramallah area Village League] announce that they are stopping the acts of terrorism, the village leagues will be prepared to return the arms to the authorities. He added that people who use nationalistic slogans for the purpose of killing innocent people cannot be listened to. Our correspondent, Pinhas 'Inbari, notes that the heads of the village leagues and their supporters in Judaea and Samaria in fact have had arms for some time now. The bodyguards of the village leagues heads have been armed for at least 4 months now, since the joint Jordanian-PLO committee decided to act against the village leagues their leaders have been under IDF guard as well. The leagues' members demand that they not only get the arms but be allowed to use them against their attackers. [Text] [TA301135 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 30 Nov 81]

APPEAL AT TEMPLE MOUNT REJECTED—This morning the high court of justice rejected an appeal to compel the government to allow Jewish prayers on Temple Mount [in Jerusalem]. Our correspondent, Moshe Negbi, notes that the court unanimously ruled that the issue of prayers on Temple Mount is essentially a political one and a decision about it should not be made by a judicial forum. The president of the high court of justice, Moshe Landau, and judges Yehuda Kohen and Yitzhaq Shilo noted that prayers by Jews on Temple Mount might stir up emotions and cause public disorder and, under such circumstances, it is conceivable that the police would be called to intervene and prevent the prayers. The justices also rejected the claim of the appellant—a religious jurist from Ramat Gan—that the basic law on Jerusalem in any way compels the government to allow Jews free access to Temple Mount to worship. [Text] [TA300829 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0800 GMT 30 Nov 81]

CSO: 4423/56

GOVERNMENT, DISSIDENTS DEBATE PRESS FREEDOM IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic 4 Nov 81 pp 12-16

_Article: "Comment on the Discussion on Eliminating Restrictions on Freedom of the Press"/

Text/ The second meeting of the current session of the National Assembly, held on Tuesday morning, 27 October 1981, witnessed a heated extensive discussion of Article 35 (bis) of the Press Law.

The discussion assumed two dimensions. The first one centered on the demand by a number of deputies that the article be put on the agenda for debate. The deputy prime minister and acting minister of information protested against this, demanding that the discussion of the subject be postponed for a period of 2 weeks on grounds that sudden new developments had occurred that needed clarification. The deputies who demanded the debate on Article 35 (bis) rejected the postponement on grounds that the discussion had been postponed for 4 months and that there was no justification for postponing it further.

The discussion of the second dimension concentrated on the unlawfulness and unconstitutionality of the continued application of this article and the demand that it be abrogated, while another group of deputies, including the acting minister of information, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, concentrated on the need to have this article continue in effect.

The deputies succeeded in arriving at a discussion of Article 35 (bis), but they did not succeed in acquiring the necessary votes to abrogate it. The result of the voting was 29 deputies demanding its abrogation, 24 deputies demanding that it be retained and 15 abstaining. Thus the voting on Article 35 (bis) of the Press Law was suspended, and it is to be put up for the vote at next Saturday's meeting.

Details of the Meeting

The question and answer section:

The assembly began its meeting as usual with the approval of the minutes of the previous meeting. The secretary general of the assembly then read out the cables that had been received and moved on to discuss the question and answer section.

In this section, the deputies usually take up a discussion of service problems, and

in this meeting the discussion did not go beyond the normal scope of previous ones. As regards the heated debate on Article 35 (bis) of the Press Law, the discussion in this section did not possess the weight it usually does when meetings are restricted to a discussion of service issues and this section takes the main share of the time and the agenda of the meeting.

In this section, the deputies addressed themsevles to a criticism of the municipal council's position calling for the removal of a number of coupons from citizens who had been allocated coupons in 1977. The deputy Muhammad al-Barrak said that the Council of Ministers' decree calling for the nonallocation of coupons had made the citizens the target of land merchants.

Deputy Fayiz al-Bughayli also took up a criticism of the backward level of services in the 'Ayn Baghzi area. The deputies Hadil al-Jallawi and 'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhaydili dealt with the issue of aid presented by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor and pointed out that there were citizens who were losing their rights. Al-Juhaydili demanded that an investigation and inspection be made into these citizens' conditions and a view was presented which demanded that the activity of village chiefs be reviewed and that the conditions for their nomination to the National Assembly be reviewed. The deputy Dr Khalid al-Wasmi stated that it was necessary that village chiefs present their resignations when they venture to nominate themselves for membership in the National Assembly.

In the answer section, the deputy Faysal al-Nudaybi followed up on the minister of electricity's answer on the reasons for the al-Shu'aybah fire, stating that there was a lack of coordination between the station and the fire department. He demanded that there be coordination between the ministry and Kuwait University to graduate engineers and technicians to work in this sector.

The deputy Faysal al-Dawish also made a followup on the minister of electricity's response on bringing electricity to the al-'Aridiyah area, saying, "The minister's reply is disappointing. A citizen must wait for a year to receive agreement to have electricity hooked up to his home. The al-"Aridiyah area will remain without electricity until the middle of 1983. This means that the Ministry of Electricity is failing to keep abreast of construction development."

Discussion of Article 35 (Ris)

After the discussion on the question and answer section ended, the assembly moved on to discuss the request by the deputies Ahmad al-Sa'dun, Muhammad al-Rashid, Muhammad al-Murshid, Jasim al-'Awn and Mubarak Ra'i al-Fahma' requesting that the education committee report on the Law on the Press and Publications placed on the agenda before other sections. At this point the course of the discussion turned to proceedings in which contradictory positions regarding Article 35 (bis) manifested themselves. Two positions on the issue at discussion and the investigation into the matter were crystallized in this discussion. The government requested that discussion on this subject be postponed a week on the grounds that there were sudden new variables that had to be studied before discussion of this issue. The deputy prime minister and acting minister of information expressed this position by saying "I demanded that it be postponed only a week since there have been some developments, and it is my right to request that."

This position on the minister's part provoked various reactions among the deputies; among them, some supported the postponement with justifications which these deputies supported only by brief statements marked mpstly by a character of non-chalance and support for the government's right to demand a postponement.

However, among other deputies, the demand for postponement raised heated opposition, and they stressed the importance of the discussion and refused to have further procrastination and delay.

The deputy Hamad al-Rumi spoke, saying "Everyone knows that the abrogation of this article is a popular demand, the deputies have promised their constituents that the article would be abrogated, the committee has written its report, the government has asked for a grace period of I week, the period was increased to 3 weeks, then the committee met with the deputy prime minister and we heard his opinion, then it presented a report representing the citizens' desire, then the minister promised us he would present an alternative, weeks and months went by, and we were given two orders from the citizens on the postponement of the matter. I demand that the report be assigned an urgent character and be discussed in this session."

As the discussion continued, the assembly chairman settled the matter by a vote on the request for postponement, which received 23 votes and did not pass. When the deputies' demand was voted on, the members fell silent. Then the door to discussion was opened and the deputy prime minister objected, saying "Why didn't the chair vote another time on the basic recommendation, and just vote on the government's demand for a postponement?"

Thus the discussion moved over to the issue of voting on the original recommendation and the interpretation of the question of silence. This stirred up broad argument. The deputy Khalid al-Wasmi was compelled to comment, stating, "The government demanded that its urgent discussion be postponed and the assembly did not agree. Naturally, I request the chair to start the discussion only if we want to lose more time."

The discussions continued to the point where the assembly lost its self-control, up to the moment when the voice vote was taken; the results were:

31 in favor of a discussion;

Three not in favor:

20 abstaining.

After conclusion of the prayer and a break, the meeting reconvened at 1215 hours, and the report by the education, culture and guidance committee on Article 35 (bis) of the Press Law was read out. It was reviewed by the rapporteur, Khalid Jumay'an, and contained the view of the deputy prime minister, minister of foreign affairs and acting minister of information stating that the circumstances of Kuwait and conditions in the Arab world demanded concern about specific matters and that in addition the article was in keeping with the constitution and did not contradict it, and its existence was in the interests of Kuwait.

As for the committee, that was of the unanimous opinion that it Should not have

agreed to the ruler's order that that article be added following a resumption of parliamentary activity.

Since there were 28 members who had signed up to discuss the article, a recommendation was made that one content oneself with hearing three supporters and a similar number of opponents.

The discussion began with a statement by the deputy Jasim al-Sagr, who said,

"Regarding Article 35 (bis), we have the following facts in front of us: [words missing/constitutional provisions; each of us has sworne to commit himself to the constitution and to defend public freedoms and the stipulations bearing on freedom of the press, namely Article 37 of the constitution and Article 36, which stresses freedom of opinion, scientific research and so forth. There are constitutional provisions which bind us to allegiance and commitment to the oath we swore, which was that we should not violate this line.

"In another area, human thought has been in conflict on freedom of opinion throughout the centuries and generations, and since the French revolution thought has all been linked to freedom of opinion. Stripping democracy of freedom of opinion and publication means fundamentally disparaging the notion of democracy. These basic premises cause me to disagree with the amendment proposed by the government. Then making the judiciary the body which is competent to review issues of the press is the natural, correct state of affairs, adopting the principle of the separation of powers, since the judiciary power is supposed to be neutral and independent. This is a premise of principle. There are factors I am very familiar with and in my view many colleagues know the motives that caused the government to think of making the amendment. Perhaps there have been some serious justifications on the government's part, but we are faced with constitutional stipulations to which we have committed ourselves, we are faced with principles related to the people's freedoms, and we do not have the option of dealing lightly with them. We must distinguish between two points, the issue of the constitutional provisions and the judiciary's competence to review the issues of publication, and the organizational aspect. In my view, on the organizational aspects, it is in the capacity of the government to offer a draft regulating the journalistic profession. To be more frank, I hear that one of the precautions motivating the government amendment is that some papers have discussed the heads of some countries and Kuwait's foreign relations, and this involves great embarrassment to the government, or as regards the profession, anyone engaged in the profession of journalism; that is an organizational point which differs from freedom of opinion and thought, and one must not confuse the two.

"We will be the most fervent advocates for supporting a well-studied organizational draft which does not conflict with the provisions of the constitution."

The deputy Ahmad al-Sa'dun, in presenting his support for the rejection of Article 35 (bis), said: "It is necessary to go back a little, to the Press Law issued in 1956, in order to see that this stipulation concerning restrictions on the freedom of the press is not new but existed prior to democracy in Kuwait. It was confirmed by the law issued in 1961 and confirmed again in 1965 in somewhat amended form. By way of bringing the assembly around, the government produced an explanatory memorandum stating that the amendment was tantamount to a temporary measure until a new law was issued. This talk was in 1965. The stipulation continued in the assembly

of 1963 and the assembly of 1967; in the 1973 assembly, some brothers came and presented a modification to Article 35, and it was amended to the form it had taken before. Evaluation was left up to the judiciary and not to the person of the minister of information, who is a human being like us. In 1972 they presented an amendment, the law was amended, and it continued in effect.

Between 1972 and 1976, what happened? Nothing happened regarding the abrogation of that article. The argument which holds that the amendment was made for a reason was unconvincing. Following the passage of the ruler's order, the law was issued not by a decree but by a ruler's order directly after the dissolution of the assembly, which was in violation of the constitution. The explanatory memorandum to the constitution raises a question: were matters so bad that one could not wait for the formation of a cabinet but rather that a ruler's decree had to be issued on Article 10? It was stated that foreign motives were the reason for the attack on some Arab leaders. However, the law was issued directly after the dissolution of the National Assembly, and it was not desirable to discuss the reasons for that dissolution. When some newspapers tried to take a poll of some citizens' opinions, and I stated my opinion -- 'Sabah al-Ahmad has removed us from the issue' -- this was not a departure from the subject. The issuance of the law, and the time it was issued, were primarily for domestic reasons, not foreign ones, and no violations were committed by the press from 1972 to 1976. It is true that there were shutdowns for a day or two, that papers would feel embarrassment in discussing some subjects, and that people would hold themselves back out of fear that the newspaper would be shut down by decree of the minister of information. A few days ago, advertisements were published that were paid for by the account of al-Sadat's regime, and when a cartoon of al-Numayri was published, AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM was shut down -- al-Numayri, who imprisoned tens of thousands before he went back to Khartoum from Cairo. /Words missing/ the shutdown of AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM was because of this law "(interruptions) -- "it appears there is no desire to continue the discussion."

The deputy Khalid al-Sultan, confirming the positions his colleagues al-Sa'dun and al-Sagr took rejecting the article, said:

"The person who proposed the law is a man of independent judgment. It is irrelevant whether he is right or wrong. Since it is a matter of independent judgment, let us exercise our judgement, since we are able to understand what this country's interests are, and it would be honest for us to pause in deliberation before the laws which obstruct people's freedoms and realize that the people of Kuwait are looking closely at these drafts and that our constituents are also watching closely over us." He then said, "We are dealing with the first section of the law, which demands the most extreme punishment against any newspaper harming Kuwait's interests. However, to state the truth in this matter means to give evidence and it has been the custom that evidence is given before the court. The criminality of any accused person is generally proved before the judiciary. The stipulations of all constitutions include the separation of powers. As stated in Articles 50 through 53 of the constitution, how can we permit ourselves to give the executive power the authorities of the judiciary power? How can we agree to have the Council of Ministers be the plaintiff and give the verdict? On this subject, the case must be presented to the judiciary when any paper commits a violation.

He then said, "Complaints in Kuwait about a media blackout have been widespread. In America, the people know and observe what is going on here before we see it or know

of it. In my opinion, this state of affairs is a result of this law, which also influences the powers of the assembly and of each one of us, because anyone following up on what the press publishes on the minutes of the assembly will note that it is restricted in what it publishes and does not publish some things to the exclusion of others.

"This means that the assembly, as our colleague Faysal al-Dawish said, will become a Hyde Park. People's experiences have shown that unless the word of truth reaches people who bear the responsibility of governing, without restrictions, then someday they will awaken to a surprise." He then said, "Let us be concerned and honest."

Then three of the people opposed to the withdrawal of the article spoke. The first speaker was the deputy Khalaf al-'Anzi, who said, "We are in favor of freedom of the press and freedom of thought and opinion, and everyone strives to be free and express his opinion as much as possible, but there are matters where we must be aware of our weight among the peoples and countries of the world and know who we are. It is true that we cherish ourselves but we measure ourselves by others and take matters step by step. I do not see any restrictions on the press but rather security matters which are necessary for the sake of the country and for the sake of us all. Through the history of the application of this article we find that shutdowns of papers have been very few and on specific matters that involved harm to the country.

"The important point is that our papers -- unfortunately, some editors in chief do not know anything about their papers, and, in spite of our respect for our Arab brothers who are concerned with the country, there are infiltrators and we must take precautions. This area is the object of people's designs and everyone is lying in wait for us. One must understand a point like this and later one can make amendments, when the press becomes Kuwaitized. In spite of our respect for our brother Arabs, I am afraid of infiltrators. The reason why Lebanon was lost lies in the press. Ours is a small territory and we must be worried about our territory and our society."

The deputy 'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhaydili said:

"Our brothers have been addressing themselves to the issue since 1959, and in 1972 all the members, and not just some of them as was said, reached agreement, because the presence of this article was not necessary at that time. However, are the current conditions, when the flames of war are blazing around us, the same as our conditions in 1972, when the assembly abrogated this article, which, in my own opinion, was just a weak check on the press, which publishes news about people who had it not been for their other preoccupations would have overrun Kuwait?"

He said, "God has brought a curse upon us because we do not know our true weight. We want to deal with conditions in the Arab world and our press is not disciplined or connected to Article 35." He said, "I am not accusing any editors in chief or editors. They are all our brothers. What we are demanding now from the people opposed to the article is that they offer an alternative. It is not just the government which is worried about Kuwait -- we are all worried about our country, and major countries have been lost because of the press and assemblies. Is there any newspaper which has been shut down for a year? We are not in favor of going back to what the papers were writing before the dissolution of the assembly. Everyone was drumming and chanting and I am not spreading my beliefs around -- if the

article were presented to the people of Kuwait, Zabrogation of it would not receive 10 percent, and it is not our fault if two or three people were linked to some body."

The deputy Mutlaq al-Mas'ud spoke, stressing the need to have Article 35 continue in effect. He demanded a popular referendum:

"The committee chairman, in his report, mentioned that abrogation of Article 35 was a popular demand. I consider that our people demand security and stability, and demand that they be provided housing and a dignified life, and that does not depend on whether Article 35 remains or not. In my opinion, the demand that it be abrogated is just a demand by editors in chief of newspapers aimed at increasing their personal incomes at the expense of this nation." He then said, "We are living in a world charged with an atmosphere of wars. We are a stable country and we must not be influenced by the demands of editors in chief in order to sell our country for the sake of five or six persons in Kuwait.

"We want a census of the number of Kuwaitis who work in the press, and let us then look at each newspaper in isolation. Are there Kuwaitis? Kuwaitis are concerned with the interests of their country and if they see something that is harmful to these interests they will realize it."

He then said, "I demand a public referendum of all the people of Kuwait so that we can see if the abrogation of Article 35 concerns them or not."

Then he said, "I believe that freedom exists, although every citizen can speak freely in Kuwait through the deputies in the assembly or through themselves, because they can get to the ruler of the country anytime they want." He then said,

"Kuwait and the interests of Kuwait are a trust upon my colleagues."

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad concluded the discussion by saying,

"I would like to say that the issue is not one of wanting to have a sword hanging over the necks of the press so much as my desire to protect this country." He stated, "If we look at what has happened in Lebanon, that basically resulted from the press, since there it is almost as if the press had become a group of shops. When we set out Article 35 (bis), that was so that the Kuwaiti press would not become 'a group of shops.' There is no one among us who is against the newspapers or even freedom of speech, and we have not prevented any newspaper from writing about any subject that is of concern to the country on the domestic level and domestic issues."

He then said, "I challenge our brother Khalid (he meant Khalid al-Sultan) to show any official directive that the press must quote the statements of one deputy but not the statements of another one."

He went on, "lest we get bogged down in this subject, I do not believe there is anyone among us who would agree to have his country destroyed for the sake of the press."

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad said,

"The editors in chief do not know everything that is written in the press. Let us be extremely explicit: anyone following the daily press will find that there is a specific policy for every page, and this shows that the editor in chief is unable to follow up on everything that is written for publication in the paper." He then stated, "I once met with the editors in chief and raised with them the opinion of opening a press institute to prepare the necessary staffs to man the press. I asserted to them that the government would defray increases in salaries after that."

He said, "We are now in a great state of tension and Kuwait is perhaps the only country that understands what freedom of the press means, but do the neighbors understand freedom of the press? Will they agree to have us say that we have freedom of the press? Then do you want us to isolate Kuwait from others because of the press?"

He went on, "I stress that Article 35 (bis) was set out just because of foreign affairs. In the domestic context, let it be recorded, with regard to us, that we have not prevented any writer from writing on any subject at any time."

He then stated,

"I say that Article 35 must remain, so that something will be present to prevent certain people from infiltrating and destroying relations between us and neighboring countries."

After conclusion of the discussion, a vote was taken and the result was that 29 deputies, including the chairman, supported the committee's report to abrogate Article 35 (bis) of the Press Law, and 24 members, including members of the government, abstained from voting.

Thus the report of the education and culture committee calling for the abrogation of Article 35 (bis) of the Press Law was not passed, and that resulted in postponement of discussion of it to next Saturday's meeting.

The Text of Article 35 (Bis)

"Without prejudice to the penalties stipulated in this or any other law, it is permissible, by decree of the Council of Ministers, to shut down a newspaper for a period not to exceed 2 years or to abrogate its permit if it is proved that it is serving the interests of a foreign country or authority or that its policy is in conflict with the national interest, or if it appears that it has acquired aid, assistance or benefit in any form whatever for any reason under any pretext or designation from any foreign country or body without permission from the Ministry of Information.

"It is also permissible, in cases of utmost need, for issuance of a paper to be suspended by decree of the minister of information for a period not to exceed 3 months.

"No newspaper may publish any advertisement or statement by a foreign government or body before the Ministry of Information has given its agreement.

"It is permissible to protest the abrogation, shutdown or suspension decree before

the Council of Ministers within 2 weeks of notification of the owner of the paper of the decree, and the council's decree on the protest will be final."

The People Supporting Freedom of the Press and Supporting Article 35

In the Tuesday 27 October meeting, the council was divided into people supporting and opposing the retention of Article 35 (bis) of the Press and Publication Law and the legitimacy or unconstitutionality of this article.

Twenty-nine deputies voted in favor of the move to end it and free the press. Among them were Ahmad al-Sa'dun, Badr al-Mudif, Jasim al-Khurafi, Jasim al-'Awn, Falih al-Mayyi', Hammud al-Rumi, Khalid Jumay'an, Khalid Sultan, Khalid al-'Ajran, Khalid al-Wasmi, Khali'fah al-Jarri, Rashid Sayf, Salim al-Hammad, Salih al-Fadalah, 'Abd-al-Muhsin Jamal, 'Adnan 'Abd-al-Samad, 'Isa al-Shahin, Faysal al-Dawish, Mubarak Ra'i al-Fahma', Mubarak al-Dabbus, Muhammad al-Rashid, Marikhan Sa'd, Mutlaq al-Shalimi, Mushari al-'Anjari, Dr Nasir Sarkhuh, Hadi Hayif al-Huwaylah, and the chairman, Muhammad al-'Adasani.

Deputies in favor of retaining Article 35 (bis), numbering 24, were:

The government plus Jasir al-Jasir, Khalaf Dumaythir al-'Anzi, 'Ayid 'Allush, 'Abd-al-Raziq al-Sani', 'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhaydali, Fayiz al-Bughayli, Hayf al-Hajraf, Muhammad Habib Badr, Muhammad al-Barrak, Murdi al-Adhinah, Mutlaq al-Mas'ud, Nayif Abu Ramiyah, Hadil al-Jallawi and Yusuf al-Shahin al-Ghanim.

In the voting, the deputy Faysal al-Qudaybi was outside the hall and was considered also to have abstained.

11887 CSO: 4404/99

BRIEFS

DAILY ON KREISKY'S STATEMENTS--Doha, 7 Dec (QNA)--The newspaper AL-RAYAH calls on the Arab states to press the European states to adopt specific stands that support the Palestinian question, put an end to the anguish of the struggling Palestinian people, and impose real and effective pressure on Israel to confine its aggressive nature and reduce its arrogance. In its editorial today, the paper notes Austrian Chancellor Kreisky's statement in Kuwait yesterday in which he said that the Israeli Government at present is not interested in reaching a radical solution to the Palestinian problem. The paper expresses satisfaction over the issuance of such a telling statement by one of Europe's most prominent leaders and one of the leaders of international socialism, which is linked to Israel by close historical and traditional bonds. The paper adds that this feeling of satisfaction is not sufficient as far as this type of decisive political stance is concerned. More action is required to crystallize, develop and implement these opinions in practical stands. The paper notes the seriousness of the current situation in which we live. It necessitates a carefully studied move toward the achievement of our goals with the utmost amount of activity and effectiveness, and by utilizing every possible opportunity that contains even a single ray of hope. [Text] [GF071205 Doha QNA in Arabic 0900 GMT 7 Dec 81]

CSO: 4404/163

POPULAR UNREST BLAMED ON ECONOMIC MEASURES

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 21 Nov 81 pp 7-9

[Text] The recent measures imposed by Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiry to improve Sudan's faltering economy has triggered a wave of riots and demonstrations throughout the country.

Troubles erupted at the University of Khartoum on Monday, while the Sudanese Vice President General Abdel Hamid Khalil was delivering a speech on the occasion of the University's 25th anniversary. More than 300 students partook in the demonstrations, hurling rocks, bottles and chairs outside the campus before being dispersed by the police.

Meanwhile, the Federation of Trade Union called for a purge of the country's government machinery and public sector firms. The federation whose approximately 250,000 worker-members are mostly low-paid and hard hit by inflation, said indiscipline and inefficiency should be eradicated from government departments.

The wave of protests started last Friday in Khartoum, when workers belonging to the various fields of the economy took to the streets to demonstrate against the tightened measures adopted by the Sudanese President. Observers have underlined that the prevailing situation is dangerous for the country's domestic stability.

Tightened Measures

Describing the present conjuncture as "gravely deteriorating economic situation," President Jaafar Numeiry announced on November 9th a 19-point plan to redress the country's ills. The plan which includes a 12.5 percent devaluation of the Sudanese currency, was formulated at the same time when the president fired his cabinet. The president accused his ministers of inefficiency, but said the present government will remain in power to expedite current affairs until a new one is formed.

Many difficulties face Sudan; the major ones are:

⁻⁻ Inflation estimated at 50 percent.

⁻⁻A 700-million-dollar gap between imports and exports. Imports cost almost three times as much as Sudan earns from exports.

-- A 1.5 billion dollar debt to Western banks and nations.

-- A drop in the production of cotton, Sudan's main cash crop, from 747,000 bales in 1978-79 to 460,000 last season.

-- The burden of more than 500,000 refugees from neighboring countries, mainly Uganda, Ethiopia and Chad.

President Numeiry reacted to these difficulties by imposing an immediate end on government subsidies on oil imports. He also ordered a gradual lifting of subsidies on basic commodities such as sugar and wheat flour. In fact, the removal of subsidies was called for by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order for Sudan to qualify for IMF financial help.

In the meantime, the Sudanese president has accused Libya of attempting to overthrow his regime by sending saboteurs to buy up food staples, hoping that the resulting shortage will lead to anti-government riots. It should be recalled that that on September 30th, General Kamal Hassan, Deputy Chief of the Sudanese State Security Apparatus, made a statement to the effect that more than 17,000 individuals belonging to the opposition had been arrested earlier that month. The Sudanese Vice President later revealed that a number of the detainees had confessed to be waiting for instructions to move against the government.

More recently, Sudanese authorities have arrested in Khartoum more than 10,000 "vagrant and illegal aliens"; 3,000 were jailed on charges of working to destabilize the regime. Sudanese authorities added that they seized, as a result of these arrests, about 2,000 unlicensed guns, most of them believed to have been supplied by Libya.

Security Threatened From Within and From Libya

In many of his declarations focusing on his country's faltering stability, President Numeiry denied the existence of an opposition, claiming instead that this was a body of saboteurs sent by Libya to foment disorder in Sudan.

Throughout the month of October, press reports carried information indicating that Libyan forces were staging raids on Sudanese border billages. The Sudanese authorities reacted by massing troops at borders with Libya. On October 1st, the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat dispatched then-Vice President Hosni Mubarak and Defense Minister General Abdelhalim Abu Ghazaleh to Washington for talks with American officials on the situation between Libya and Sudan. The Egyptian delegation accused Libya of reinforcing troops in Chad and of training Sudanese mercenaries of the Kordoufan region (western Sudan).

The Egyptian concern over Sudan was loudly denounced by Syria. In a speech delivered on October 1st, Syrian President Hafez Assad said, "Syrian air and ground forces are ready to fight in Libya, if Libya is the target of an attack." The Syrian statement was meant to intimidate any Egyptian attempt in taking an active role in the Libyan-Sudanese crisis.

Developments followed with the US Congress pledging \$130 million in military equipment to Sudan, and President Numeiry launching an all-out campaign saying that his country was in a position of "self-defence" which may move the battle inside Libyan territory. October 13th, the US government made public a decision to send unspecified number of military advisers to train Sudanese soldiers in the handling of US-made military equipment. Dean Fisher, the State Department spokesman who made the announcement said, however, "The US is willing to do all it can to help Sudan defend its territory by supplying it with conomic and military aid. The US, however, has no proof of any imminent invasion of Sudan by Libya, but we remain concerned by the recent incidents occurring on the borders." Meanwhile, Egypt sent anti-aircraft units to Sudan.

The Libyan government explained its position in a statement made by its Justice Minister on October 18th. Minister Muhammad el Zawi said his government wishes no war with Sudan and attributed the present crisis to the Chadian conflict. He said, "the Sudanese government is backing up the butcher Hissen Hibri (the former Chadian Minister of Defence who was defeated in the civil war) and we interpret this as an aggressive act."

While the news media probed whether an all-out confrontation would take place between Egypt, Sudan and Libva informed diplomatic sources in Beirut indicated that as a result of many diplomatic efforts, some attributed to France, a compromise agreement would have been reached between all three countries. According to this agreement, Egypt would put an end to its campaign against the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front States, while Libya and its allies would stop escalating the conflict with Egypt and Sudan.

In fact, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak announced on October 21st his decision to stop media warfare against his Arab critics. This decision was followed by a Libyan "goodwill" gesture to pull back its troops from the Sudanese borders. However, Sudanese Army troops continued being deployed on the borders with Chad.

Sudan Still in Danger

Observers believed after the main conflicting sides showed sign of goodwill, that domestic problems inside Sudan will rise. Recent days have proven this to be true. President Numeiry is now working to remediate this problem. His efforts have taken him to Washington where he held talks with Vice President George Bush, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Agency reports have underlined that the Vice President and the Secretary of State promised the Sudanese President that their government will help Sudan to achieve its economic program. Meanwhile, the Egyptian authorities have dismissed reports of a merger with Sudan, stressing that only coordination will resume.

CSO: 4500/65

PROGRESS ON COMMUNITY AND MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 9 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Abdelmajid Sahnoun: "The Place of the Municipality in the Development Cycle"]

[Text] Municipalities or tempest in a teapot?

The national conference of municipalities in Tozeur strongly recommended the need to continue the work on training cadres of local collectivities and municipalities in general. Efforts are presently under way in this connection since a substantial training program is provided for within the framework of the second urban development project.

This project is being financed by the UN Development Program and is made up of several sections:

- --a "training" section of cadres of local collectivities;
- --a "seminar" section on problems of local development;
- -- "technical assistance" section.

The "training" section consists in providing specific training to benefit cadres of local collectivities in various fields of endeavor, such as traffic, improvement of open spaces, information, organization... in various countries and in such organizations as the World Bank and the Communal Credit Bank of Belgium.

The "seminar" section consists in the organization and financing of a series of seminars on various local development issues to provide know-how to all municipal cadres in various fields of local affairs.

The beneficiaries of the training courses become teachers during the seminars, at the same time as the experts furnished within the framework of the third "technical assistance" section.

Therefore, thanks to the second urban development project, progress is being made toward the restructuring of the municipalities and the continual training of their cadres. When the first urban projects have been defined on how to improve living conditions in unplanned housing quarters through the installation of such infrastructure as drinking water supply, sewage systems, roads and electricity, as well as collective forms of infrastructure such as schools, dispensaries and kindergartens, the planners of the project must take the following two factors into consideration:

- a. These projects are indispensable for improving the sanitary conditions of housing for those inhabitants not in a position to have access to housing found on the official market. These projects would contribute to improving safety in general.
- b. The needs in projects of this type are great and relate to all municipalities, particularly those which are chief towns of the governorate. More than 50 percent of the real estate property of the country must be renovated and rehabilitated. As far as implementation is concerned, the planners of the project have been confronted with the following alternative: should these projects be entrusted to the municipalities, in which case the latter will have to be formed and organized differently, or should these projects be entrusted to one specialized national company as was done in the past to solve the housing problem through the establishment of the SNIT [Tunisian National Real Estate Company], the AFH [Real Estate Housing Agency], the CNEL [expansion unknown], as well as the sanitation problem through the establishment of the ONAS [National Public Sanitation Office]?

These organizations were undoubtedly means for achieving the development plans. However, they achieved an unbalanced form of development because of their concern for maintaining a balanced financial record. The question raised is consequently one of organization and distribution of economic power between the public sector, government and municipalities on the one hand, the quasi-national sector, national companies and mixed-economy companies on the other hand, and finally the private sector. The objective is very clear: provide a more specific content for unity and national solidarity, as well as for balanced development, which should inevitably result in greater tax equity.

The above organizations also achieved a costly form of development. Some national companies, because of their monopoly strength, did not cut back on expenditures, including personnel expenditures, thus creating spiraling inflation across the board resulting from the need for realignment and because productivity did not tend to increase at the same rate as expenditures. As far as the second urban project is concerned, the option was clear: the planners of the project succeeded in adjusting the municipal structures and procedures to the new objectives which made of the municipality a real development nucleus. Besides their conventional attributes (garbage collection, cultural and sports activities), the municipalities of Tunis and Sfax are now practicing integrated development (housing, VRD [expansion unknown], traffic...).

These two municipalities are doing what the national companies rightly or wrongly did not do. They are preparing the groundwork for social integration, for a better distribution of revenue among the inhabitants of the collectivity in order to decrease inter-regional imbalance, a factor of insecurity.

In this way, these two municipalities only strengthen the results of social benefits and transfer of revenues implemented at the state level but only through public institutions and rarely through quasi-public ones.

From a progressive standpoint, based on decentralization, effective solidarity and participation and interest of citizens in management of collective issues, and a new division of economic power to the benefit of the municipalities and not to the benefit of national companies, are needed.

The best organized countries in the world are not those which have developed national companies to the detriment of municipalities, as is the case of France where power is centralized and where, whenever decentralization is spoken of to the benefit of municipalities, an endless argument ensues. The Guichard reform in France was proposed precisely to achieve a new division of tasks between the various levels of organization, while attempting to give more responsibility to municipalities.

Also, the best organized countries in the world are not those which have divided the country partly into [urban] municipalities and partly into rural municipalities. The latter, despite certain developmental programs, were not able to overcome the migratory situation and could not get a handle on development without too many errors, leading to an intolerable situation which pitted cities against the country-side.

The countries best adapted to cultural, social and economic evolution are those which have given real power to their collectivities and more responsibilities to the gressroots level. Therefore, they have encouraged the spirit of initiative and developed the taste for individual and collective effort. For example, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland have a municipal government organization permitting these countries to control urban growth almost entirely. In this connection, after a major revamping of the country's inhabited areas, German municipalities are seeking to control urban growth through the rational implementation of the present space planning system.

On the other hand, the Swiss municipalities combine the use of two means: the use of the free market as far as lands are concerned and secondly the right to determine the local tax rate to an extent determined by the canton.

The goal of the Sfax seminar is to study the situation of the present organization of municipalities. Of course, the latter have developed over the last 2 decades as far as the number and qualifications of their cadres are concerned, but they are far from being at the level of development of the state, national companies and citizens in general. To be major representatives, the municipalities and their cadres, with some exceptions, are powerless financially and technically speaking vis-a-vis their representatives. Nevertheless, it is certain that they constitute the most obvious framework to develop the sense of collectivelife and mutual respect and to take steps to bring about social equilibrium in order to avoid the great social inequalities revealed through the coexistence of unplanned housing quarters with no facilities whatsoever and of those housing quarters which have every kind of facility.

They constitute the most obvious framework since they are democratic nuclei, born of the people's will, and the central government must normally grant them an increase of power and means in order to extend the roots of progress to the lowest and farthest corners of housing quarters and minds.

The Sfax seminar should not normally study the municipality in a purely passive frame. It is evident that the municipalities are weak. The conferences on municipalities have already proved that on many occasions in the past, but the essential point is to make a study on what the place of the municipality is before going on to a proliferation of organizations which do nothing but consume public resources.

This is why the line of thought and research of the seminar are: the place of the municipality within the general administrative organization: the municipality and its representatives; and the internal organization of a municipality.

5671

CSO: 4519/45

DEFENSE MINISTER OBSERVES MILITARY MANEUVERS

Dubai AL-BAYAN in Arabic 1 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Naji al-Hayik: "Muhammad ibn-Rashid Observes Maneuvers Using Live Ammunition. Storming Operation by Elite Strike Forces Using Armor, Artillery, Fighter Planes, Missiles, Paratroopers"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the Minister of Defense Shaykh Muhammad ibn-Rashid al-Maktum observed extensive maneuvers using live ammunition. The maneuvers were carried out by groups of the central region military command forces and included paratroop operations, penetration and freeing of hostages, firing on land and air targets and maneuvers with armor and artillery.

The maneuvers began with a storming operation in which groups of the elite strike forces penetrated a building to free hostages trapped inside. The units of the force were divided into three groups. The first group, the "sharpshooters", provided protection and cover. The second group threw hand grenades and opened machinegun fire just before penetration was executed and the third group was charged with carrying out the penetration operation and freeing the hostages.

The entire operation was carried out with complete success after a violent battle with grenades and machinegun fire during which the hostages were rescued.

After this the armored "scorpion" division proceeded in an arrowhead formation and marched toward an elevated area to protect it from occupation by the "enemy". The armored force carried out pursuit and elimination of the "enemy's" resistance in that region. A number of groups participated in this battle including an armored company, a company of infantry guards and an artillery division. There was air support from two fighter planes. The front lines of the armor penetrated enemy lines and began striking their targets. Then they engaged the enemy force to give the division commander the opportunity to send a contact report to the remaining members of the company. After this the planes struck enemy positions with missiles in preparation of penetration of these positions. Under the cover of air fire and artillery barrages, combat platoons proceeded from the concentration area to the rendezvous area and then fell into formation. Platoons from the first group approached the target while the second group battled the entrenched enemy with hand grenades and machineguns and the third group continued its march on the position. After gaining control of all enemy positions the armor moved forward in attack formation to take their designated positions according to the commander's battle

plan. As for the armored reserve, they subsequently proceeded to join the remaining groups which controlled enemy positions. After reorganizing and filling out the battle units, the officer in charge sent his report of the results of the battle and the losses which the enemy suffered. When this was all over, helicopters circled carrying the artillery commander and the battle commander so they could view the position and choose a place to drop the artillery being carried by helicopter. After this the helicopters arrived at the battlefield carrying 105 mm cannons, each one weighing 3,500 pounds, with a maximum firing range of 17 kilometers and capable of firing six rounds per minute. The cannons were dropped to the ground position and paratroopers, fully equipped with weapons, descended from an altitute of 1,000 feet and occupied their designated positions.

The maneuvers were observed by Shaykh Ahmad ibn-Rashid al-Maktum, commander of the central military region, Shaykh Ahmad al-Maktum, deputy commander for operations, Shaykh Butti al-Maktum, deputy commander for administration, Shaykh Marwan al-Maktum, commander of the Royal Guard and a number of senior officers, soldiers and members of the armed forces.

CSO: 4404/162

FIVE-YEAR WATER PLAN CALLS FOR 22 DESALINATION PLANTS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 46, 16 Nov 81 p 5

[Text]

The UAE's national five-year plan calls for installation of 22 water desalination plants by 1985, the *Emirates News* reported last week. The combined capacity of these plants will be 96.5 million gallons per day (MGD). Out of the 22, six will be installed in Abu Dhabi in 1984, each with a daily capacity of 1 MGD, and in 1985 four more will be added, each with a 11 MGD capacity.

Six units are scheduled to be installed at Dubai in 1984, each with a capacity of 4.5 MGD. One unit is to be installed in Umm al-Qaiwain by 1983 with a capacity of 3.5 MGD, one in Ras al-Khaimah by 1983 with a 4 MGD capacity, and two units in the western area by 1984, each with a capacity of 4 MGD. The eastern coast region will be supplied with two units with a capacity of 2 MGD.

The five-year water plan also includes several projects for the preservation of ground water, an official of the Ministry for Water and Electricity was quoted as saying. Dams will be built in several parts of the country which will direct rainwater to a network of aquifers, checking runoff of water into the Gulf. Furthermore, there are plans being drawn up to tap the al-Waria spring, following a directive of UAE President Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan al-Nahyan.

CSO: 4400/80

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

NEW OIL COMPANY--It was announced in Umm al-Qaywayn today that an oil and gas company has been established. The representatives of the new company held a meeting today which resulted in the appointment of the company's board of directors and its founding systems. His Highness Shaykh Rashid ibn Ahmad al-Mu'alla, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of Umm al-Qaywayn, issued an Amiri decree establishing this company with a capital of 200 million dirhams. [GF080515 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1850 GMT 7 Dec 81]

CSO: 4404/163

END

END OF FICHE DATE FILMED

DEC. 23, 1981